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Erica NićCole Johnson
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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Erica NićCole Johnson

The Graduate School

University of Kentucky

2010

LIFTING AS WE CLIMB: EXPERIENCES OF BLACK DIVERSITY OFFICERS AT
THREE PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS IN KENTUCKY

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Education
at the University of Kentucky

By
Erica NićCole Johnson

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Jane M. Jensen, Professor of Education

Lexington, Kentucky

2010

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

LIFTING AS WE CLIMB: EXPERIENCES OF BLACK DIVERSITY OFFICERS AT: THREE PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS IN KENTUCKY

Recently, colleges and universities across the country have created executive level positions responsible for institutional diversity. The origins of this work within higher education lay in the civil rights movements and its consequences for desegregation of higher education. Early diversity officer positions usually resided within student affairs. However, as the responsibilities of these offices have changed, the reporting lines have also changed such that diversity officers are now commonly situated within academic affairs. This exploratory study examines these administrative positions responsible for diversity at southern white institutions. The research takes an in-depth look at how these positions have shifted over time and how people who hold these positions understand their work.

This study presents an analysis of nine personal narratives of diversity officers at three predominantly white institutions in Kentucky from the early 1970s to the present. Counterstories, or stories that challenge majority accounts, are used to elicit the experiences of the black diversity officers. The analysis uses critical race theory to begin telling stories that have been muted. Pigeonholing and its relevance to the counterstories of the administrators are discussed to contextualize the administrators' experiences at predominantly white institutions.

The shift in responsibilities and reporting lines and changes in required credentials resulted in tensions, including intraracial tensions, among the diversity officers. Despite the tensions between generations of officers, these administrators shared a common interest in racial uplift. This was evident as they discussed what attracted them to positions responsible for diversity. In the past, scholars writing on black diversity officers suggested that the positions were the result of tokenism; however, administrators holding these positions view themselves and their roles as an opportunity to help others on their educational journeys

KEYWORDS: Critical Race Theory, Diversity Officers, Morehead State University, University of Louisville, Western Kentucky University

Erica N. Johnson

April, 13, 2010

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By

Erica NićCole Johnson

Dr. Jane M. Jensen

Director of Dissertation

Dr. Jane M. Jensen

Director of Graduate Studies

April 13 2010

Date

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DEDICATION

Without the prayers and support of my mother, Marilyn B. Johnson, maternal grandmother, Lucille L. Brooks, sisters, Tianna R. Wormley, and Kelcie L. Johnson, paternal grandfather, John Johnson, and a host of aunts, uncles, cousins, and friends, my journey would have been impossible. Also, I could never forget the encouraging words shared from my fellow members at May's Lick Second Baptist Church, my neighbors on Fifth Street, and my friends, who have watched me blossom into this accomplished lady.

Never to be forgotten are those loved ones who are no longer here in the flesh to witness this momentous occasion, but who touched my life in unimaginable ways during the times we shared. The memories of each one of you strengthened and encouraged me throughout this process, and for this I am most grateful.

In the words of James Weldon Johnson, songwriter of the National Negro Hymn, Lift Every Voice and Sing, "Facing the rising sun of our new day begun, Let us march on till victory is won." Although my march has not always been easy, for those who gave me a listening ear or a tissue to dry my tears, you made this victory possible for me and I pledge to do the same for those behind me-lifting as I climb.

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I would like to extend a very special thank you to my study participants who allowed me to document their experiences for this study. Without their words and experiences, this study would not have been possible and because of their willingness to help “one of their own,” I am able to share with you. Thank you Vice President Howard Bailey, Dr. Francene Botts-Butler, Dr. Ralph Fitzpatrick, Mr. Jerry Gore, Mr. Edward Laster, Dr. Richard Miller, Mr. Ricardo Nazario-Cólon, Dr. Mitchell Payne, and Dr. Clarendia Phillips, words can never express my gratitude for all that you have shared with me.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	iii
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
Rationale for Study	1
Background of Study	2
National Context	4
Predominantly White Institutions in the United States After Brown.	4
Title VI Legislation.....	6
Brown’s Study on Roles and Responsibilities of Black Administrators.	8
Diversity Officer Positions Created.....	9
Change in Position Titles, Responsibilities, and Office Names.	10
Types of Diversity Officers.	12
National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education (NADOHE).....	13
Theoretical Framework.....	15
Critical Race Theory.....	15
Critical Race Theory and Counterstories.....	17
Critical Race Theory and Interest Convergence.....	17
Tokenism.....	19
Racial Uplift and Activism	23
Dissertation Outline	24
Chapter Two: Methodology	27
Case Study	27
Institution Selection	28
Historically Black Universities and Diversity Officers.	30
Data Collection	31
Study Participants.	32
University of Louisville participants.	33
Western Kentucky University participants.....	34
Morehead State University participants.....	37
Interviews.....	40
Data Analysis.....	42
Limitations	43
Validity and Reliability.....	46
Chapter Three: Who’s Good Will?	48
The Commonwealth of Kentucky Higher Education Desegregation Plan	51
University of Louisville	53
Western Kentucky University.....	62
Morehead State University	68

Chapter Four: United We Stand	75
Tensions Among Diversity Officers	76
Changing Credentials of Diversity Officers.	78
Positionality of Diversity Officers Within the Universities.....	79
Intraracial Politics.....	92
Tokenism and Its Effects on Black Administrators	96
Kanter’s Theory of Proportional Representation.....	97
Heterogeneity Among Blacks	99
Pigeonholing	100
Compartmentalizing Diversity.....	103
Chapter Five: Standing On the Shoulders of Others	108
Uplifting and Supporting	110
Post-racialism.....	113
Conclusion	116
Appendices	121
Appendix A: Study Participants.....	121
Appendix B: Interview Guide.....	122
Appendix C: Consent Forms.....	123
References	129
Vita	136

List of Tables

Table 3.1 University of Louisville	60
Table 3.2 Western Kentucky University.....	67
Table 3.3 Morehead State University	73

List of Figures

Figure 1 University of Louisville (1969-1976; 1976-1986)	82
Figure 2 University of Louisville (1986-2001; 2002-2008)	83
Figure 3 University of Louisville (2008-present)	84
Figure 4 Western Kentucky University (1982-1986; 1986-1991)	86
Figure 5 Western Kentucky University (1991-2001; 2001-2007)	87
Figure 6 Western Kentucky University (2008-present)	88
Figure 7 Morehead State University (1984-1998; 1998-present)	90
Figure 8 Morehead State University (2004-2008)	91

Chapter One: Introduction

During a conversation with a colleague about my research interests and my difficulty narrowing my focus, he asked, “What are your career aspirations?” I shared with him that one of my aspirations is to serve as a diversity officer responsible for campus-wide diversity initiatives. He encouraged me to study this group of black administrators. After reading about them, I quickly recognized a gap in the literature regarding positions responsible for diversity. The literature about diversity officers described them without learning their perspectives through actual conversations. The importance of documenting and sharing the history of the early minority affairs officers to that of more recent vice presidents of minority affairs is relevant to the higher education community. These previously undocumented narratives provide insight into the transformations that have occurred in higher education.

Rationale for Study

With the increase in diversity officer positions at universities, a discussion of their origins and their new functions is needed. The narratives of retired and current diversity officers help us reconsider what we already know about earlier administrators in similar positions. Even though diversity officer positions have been the subject of previous studies, the diversity officers themselves have not been afforded the opportunity to express their views. A question not generally asked of diversity officers is if they came to these positions because of their own professional goals. Rather, it has been assumed in the studies of researchers like Brown (1997), Hoskins (1978), and Johnson (1974) that black administrators became diversity officers because of institutional racism that typically manifested itself as tokenism. Regardless of what outsiders, including myself, think about the way in which institutional racism continues to be a factor in the roles and responsibilities of black administrators, it is the actual experiences of those often left out of the discussion that I am interested in giving a voice. Including the perspectives of black administrators in such research offers an understanding of why they chose positions responsible for diversity and insight into their experiences while in the offices.

A closer examination of positions responsible for diversity at Morehead State University, the University of Louisville, and Western Kentucky University provides an opportunity to tell the story of black administrators at predominantly white institutions.

This study is an in depth exploration of the changing duties and responsibilities that diversity officer positions at the aforementioned three universities have undergone since their creation almost 40 years ago. Due to Kentucky's history of operating dual systems of higher education based on racial segregation, the effects of Title VI legislation on the state-supported institutions are an interesting consideration in this study. The Commonwealth of Kentucky Desegregation Plan (Desegregation Plan), created in the early 1980s, was the state's response to the sanctions, but it is the content of the Desegregation Plan and how the state-supported institutions interpreted the policy directives to discontinue a dual system of education that pertain to this study.

The experiences of the administrators provide much of the evidence for this study, which is guided by the following research questions: Why was the diversity officer position created? What was the role of federal and state desegregation policy in the creation of diversity positions and offices? How has the diversity officer positions changed since they were introduced to white campuses? What role has race played in diversity officers' professional experiences? What professional and personal goals led the diversity officers to their positions? Examining these questions provides an opportunity for past and present black administrators to have their experiences better understood by sharing the meanings they attribute to their work.

Background of Study

Most of the recent literature regarding black administrators at predominantly white institutions has focused on administrators from academic affairs backgrounds who served, or who currently serve, as university/college presidents, academic provosts, or deans. For example, Rolle, Davies, and Banning (2000) examined the experiences of eight executive-level black administrators (six presidents and two associate vice chancellors), including stories of their triumphs and trials. The researchers sought to share the experiences of the participants who were presidents, chancellors, and assistants to the chancellors, with an audience who had similar career aspirations. The study did not include administrators in student affairs; instead, it focused on black administrators in executive leadership positions in academic affairs. Rolle et al. did not include administrators in positions solely responsible for diversity initiatives. Perhaps this

omission was because, at the time of the study, positions responsible for diversity initiatives were rarely considered executive-level on most campuses.

According to the scholars who wrote about the black experience in higher education during the late 1960s and early 1970s, the historically white administration did not discuss where black administrators would be located within the organizational structure of the institution (Hoskins, 1978; Johnson, 1974). Instead, the administrators—both black and white—knew the black administrators were hired to: handle the black students' concerns and serve as a voice and representative of the black campus community. Scholars' early discussions reduced black administrators to mere tokens within the university. For example, Johnson referred to black administrators as mannequins, implying that they were in their positions to meet the window dressing needs of white administrators. Past researchers examined the roles and responsibilities of black administrators and their lack of scope and authority without considering that some of the administrators might have been in their positions because of a personal or professional choice. In this study, interviews and archival records helped explore the past and present experiences of black administrators responsible for institutional diversity, and to gain a comprehensive understanding of their positions, and the shifts that have occurred, since they came in to vogue at their universities. The argument that black administrators are little more than tokens and victims of institutional racism does not take into consideration other influences, such as racial uplift in the administrators' decisions to pursue these positions.

This study aims to tell the stories of current and retired diversity officers and looks at the shifts in the administrative positions and the offices to which they were assigned. From the stories about shifts in the administrative responsibilities of the position emerged discussions related to the changing credentials of diversity officers as well as where they were situated within the organizational structure of a university. These stories are embedded in a larger narrative, the shift from minority affairs directors to diversity officers, but each component is necessary to provide an understanding of the changes that have occurred and the reactions to those changes.

The possibility of institutional racism playing a role in the careers of the administrators is only part of the story; the other part is how the administrators have

rejected oppressive structures and helped other members of their community resist racism. Included in this discussion is personal choice and the diversity officers' consideration of it in their professional work. The experiences of the black administrators in this study have not always been ones of oppression or of dissatisfaction; instead, they demonstrated a variety of shared experiences of people who are greatly satisfied with their positions and the work they have accomplished without focusing on the role race played or continues to play on their experiences. Some of the study participants rejected the notion that race influenced their professional lives. Even though there may not have been an acknowledgment by all of the participants with regards to race and its influence on their positions, Hatch suggested that one reason to engage in critical inquiry is to "raise the consciousness of those being oppressed because of historically situated structures tied to race, gender, and class" (p. 17). A more in depth analysis of why this level of consciousness is not present for some of the participants is included in chapter four's discussion on pigeonholing and compartmentalizing diversity. This study explores how diversity officers at predominantly white institutions interpret their experiences, and it is through counterstories, or rejections of majoritarian stories, and not the stories of others, that I portray these information-rich experiences.

National Context

Predominantly White Institutions in the United States After Brown.

The most direct origins of black administrators at predominantly white institutions can be traced to *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954). When the Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Brown*, racial segregation in educational institutions was deemed unconstitutional, but the social construct of racism did not perish within the minds of people, especially when residential and public accommodations and educational practices were slow to change. According to Marable (2005), the *Brown* decision laid the legal foundation for blacks to challenge racial segregation beyond schools, to include other public institutions. As blacks once again mobilized and formed a Black Freedom Movement, they challenged institutions that perpetuated inequality and segregation, including banks and department stores. As scores of people began to challenge Jim Crow, civil rights legislation dismantling Jim Crow became more popular with the public and this was evident in Congress passing the first civil rights legislation

since 1875 (Johnson and Green, 2009). The 1957 civil rights legislation focused primarily on voting rights for blacks, including the creation of the Commission on Civil Rights, “charged with investigating and reporting violations of voting rights and equal protection of the laws...” (Johnson & Green, 2009, p. 15). The legislation also outlined how possible violations were to be enforced by the newly formed Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice. Although blacks welcomed the new civil rights legislation, Johnson and Green asserted that many in the black community felt that other areas were not receiving attention, specifically employment.

After the failed attempts of President John F. Kennedy to get Congress to pass civil rights legislation that would make it illegal to discriminate, his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson asked that Congress honor Kennedy by passing civil rights legislation (Anderson, 2004; Johnson and Green, 2009). According to Anderson, Johnson’s civil rights legislation was more controversial than the one proposed by Kennedy. Despite opposition in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed and signed by President Johnson. The introduction of the new legislation was expected:

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutions rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity (Johnson and Green, 2009, p. 27).

Johnson and Green suggested that Title II and Title VII were the most significant components of the legislation because of their directive to end segregation in public accommodation and employment, respectively. A few public accommodations federally mandated to desegregate included: motels, stores, restaurants, and entertainment venues (Anderson). While Title II addressed desegregation in public accommodations, Title VI, which is discussed in chapter three, focused on desegregation in federally funded programs, such as public schools and hospitals. Title VI was intended to deter discrimination based on color, race, or national origin by any entity receiving federal monies (Johnson and Green). Kentucky’s Title VI violations and their remedies are discussed in chapter three.

Title VI Legislation

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was intended to further the progress of *Brown* (Williams, 1988). The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (DHEW) was responsible for compliance reviews of colleges and universities to see whether institutions continued to be segregated. In 1969, DHEW sent letters to the governors of ten states, notifying them that their states were in violation of Title VI legislation and could possibly lose federal funds (Williams). The states were: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The aforementioned states are also referred to as “1st tier Adams states” which name was derived from the *Adams v. Richardson* case (“Desegregation in the South,” 2005; Williams, 1988). The letters requested that each state submit formal plans for desegregating their institutions. Arkansas, Georgia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia submitted plans; however, the remaining five states did not. The plans that were submitted by the previously mentioned states were not acceptable to DHEW, but because President Nixon no longer allowed the enforcement of desegregation policies or laws, those states’ plans were not revised (Williams, 1988). In 1973, the NAACP initiated a class action lawsuit to challenge President Nixon’s policy relaxing the enforcement of desegregation. *Adams v. Richardson* (1973) alleged that federal monies were still being given to institutions that continued to be segregated and this was a violation of Title VI (Conrad & Weertz, 2004). The case aimed to make DHEW personnel “respond to the plans that had been received two to three years earlier, institute enforcement proceedings where necessary, monitor progress, and conduct additional compliance reviews in other states” (Williams).

After several suits filed against DHEW’s Office of Civil Rights (OCR) for non enforcement, the United States District Court of the District of Columbia ruled that DHEW was obligated to pursue those ten states that it had found in violation of Title VI in 1969. Eight of the ten states complied with formal desegregation plans and their plans were approved by DHEW; however, Louisiana did not submit a plan and Mississippi’s plan was unacceptable. Because both Louisiana and Mississippi were involved in private suits, the United States Department of Justice was asked to join the plaintiffs in the private suits (Williams, 1988). The plaintiffs, who initiated the *Adams v. Richardson*

(1973) case, received the desegregation plans of the above mentioned states that had been previously submitted and approved by DHEW, and found the plans to be inadequate and without progress. According to Williams, the courts sided with the plaintiffs and DHEW was ordered to develop criteria to aid in states writing their desegregation plans.

In February 1978, DHEW received court approval for desegregation guidelines for states to use when creating their formal desegregation plans (Williams, 1988). In order to dismantle/integrate the existing dual systems of education, the OCR offered specific suggestions. The four themes outlined in the Title VI guidelines were: “ (1) restructuring dual systems; (2) increasing black enrollments at predominantly white institutions and increasing white enrollment at traditionally black institutions; (3) increasing “other race” faculty, administrators, nonprofessional staff; and (4) reporting and monitoring requirements” (Williams, 1988, p. 9). The language referring to increasing student enrollment specifically emphasized black students at predominantly white institutions. The OCR guidelines offered specific suggestions to help dismantle the dual system of higher education by placing new premier programs at historically black institutions and alleviating duplicate programs by reassigning to just one institution. Specific suggestions for increasing black enrollment on white campuses were also recommended to the states. One suggestion was, “the proportion of black high school graduates in a state who enter the state college and university system should at least equal the percentage of whites who graduate and similarly matriculate” (Williams, p. 10). Also, the OCR offered specific suggestions for implementing the other two major elements of the Title VI guidelines. Shortly after these new guidelines were created, Kentucky along with Alabama, Delaware, Missouri, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas, and West Virginia, known as the “2nd Tier Adams states” were notified by DHEW that their public post secondary institutions were operating dual systems of higher education (“Desegregation in the South,” 2005; Williams, 1988; Wells, 1989). In chapter three, Kentucky’s adherence to the guidelines established by DHEW are discussed in relation to the state’s desegregation plan and subsequent iterations of the plan.

The 1960s Civil Rights and Black Power Movements, along with the 1964 Civil Rights Act resulted in large numbers of black students beginning to matriculate to predominantly white campuses. The new black students brought a list of demands for

“more black courses, increas[ing] black student enrollment, more black faculty and administrators, and combat[ing] racial discrimination” (Walters & Smith, 1979, p. 157). According to Marable, the increase in black student enrollment that took place between the 1960s and 1970s was statistically significant. He stated:

In 1960, there were barely 200,000 African Americans enrolled in college, and three-fourths of that number attended historically black universities and colleges. By 1970, 417,000 black Americans between ages 18-24 were attending college. Three-fourths of them were now at predominantly white institutions. (p. 36)

Early scholars, Hoskins (1978) and Johnson (1974), argued in their studies on black administrators that this influx of black students resulted in specialized positions in which the primary responsibility was to focus on issues related to black and minority students. These positions were usually found in admissions offices, financial aid offices, student centers, or as special assistants to the chancellor or president (Hoskins; Johnson). Even with the change in the titles of directors of minority affairs to diversity officers, literature on black administrators, almost thirty years after Hoskins and Johnson, still appeared one-sided, with the emphasis on how those in positions responsible for diversity continue to be relegated to duties that lack power and authority.

Brown’s Study on Roles and Responsibilities of Black Administrators.

In a 1997 study, the “type of positions and job responsibilities held by African American administrators are carefully reviewed, categorized and delineated” to determine how much power and authority these administrators held on white campuses (Brown, 1997, p. 92). Brown did not focus on the individual administrators and their work but rather, on their position types and where their positions were located within the universities’ organizational structure. The study found that black administrators typically lacked power and authority in administrative positions at predominantly white institutions, where roughly eighty percent of the senior-level administrative positions held by African Americans (in the more than 200 traditionally white institutions contacted) were in student or multicultural and minority affairs divisions. According to Brown, African Americans responsible for minority affairs programs were responsible for monitoring student progress and such responsibilities were outside of traditional positions which were considered to have power and authority on most campuses. Like previous scholarly inquiries, Brown’s study omitted the personal insight of the black

administrators studied. The administrators' roles and responsibilities were studied and conclusions made without regard to their individual perspective. Because of this dearth of research regarding diversity officers and their voices, I am interested in a conversation with black administrators at three public institutions in Kentucky to learn their stories and to contextualize their experiences at predominantly white universities.

Diversity Officer Positions Created.

Searching for a way to continue to keep colleges and universities more reflective of the greater society in terms of racial composition during a time when court rulings on affirmative action had complicated the discussion, many institutions have recently begun to hire senior level diversity officers (Banerji, 2005). Green (2008) argued that the Supreme Court's opinions regarding the value of diversity in the University of Michigan cases, *Gratz* (2003) and *Gruter* (2003), resulted in the creation of chief diversity officer positions at colleges and universities. Green, citing the research of Williams and Wade-Golden, noted that several universities were pioneers in this area. Since the 1990s, chief diversity officers have been employed at universities including the "University of Michigan, University of Connecticut, Indiana University, University of Washington, Brown University, University of Denver, and Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute" (Green, 2008, p. 9).

Because the chief diversity officer is a recent addition to most colleges and universities, defining the new positions can be confusing and complicated. When Williams and Wade-Golden (2007) asked diversity executives to define chief diversity officers, they answered that the person serving in the position was a "senior administrator who guides, coordinates, leads, enhances, and at time supervises the formal diversity capabilities of the institution in an effort to build sustainable capacity to achieve an environment that is inclusive and excellent for all" (p. 8). The creation of chief diversity officer positions in response to federal legislation was similar to what several institutions did in the 1970s and 1980s, when the states were found in violation of federal desegregation legislation and were mandated to increase numbers of students, faculty, and staff of color or face consequences. Thus, the introduction of chief diversity officers to institutions of higher education is a continuation of efforts made over 40 years ago to make our nation's colleges and universities more diverse.

Change in Position Titles, Responsibilities, and Office Names.

The higher education community has begun to change its terminology, largely in response to the shifting demographics of the United States. Colleges and universities are beginning to use terminology that is more inclusive of various minority groups. This trend is evidenced on campuses with frequent name changes. Diversity offices that were once called black affairs are now more often known as minority or multicultural affairs and minority affairs directors are referred to as diversity officers. When black administrators first came to white campuses, Hoskins (1978) and Johnson (1974), in their separate critiques, both argued that they were usually hired to police the actions of black students and mediate their concerns. According to Williams and Wade-Golden (2007) black administrators were given the charge to increase access and equity for underrepresented groups and improve the campus climate for the students. Black administrators hired as diversity officers not only have different titles than their predecessors, who were often referred to as “minority affairs officers, equal opportunity officers, access officers, and affirmative action officers,” but their responsibilities and backgrounds have also evolved (Banerji, 2005, 38).

One reason that the responsibility of the black administrators has changed is due to how race in higher education has been thought about since integration. Williams and Wade-Golden (2007) described Williams and Clowney’s (2007) three models of organizational diversity in higher education: affirmative action and equity, multicultural, and diversity and learning. These models were created to show the link of the early black administrative positions to the newly created chief diversity officer positions. Each model includes its “launching point, locus, drivers of change, definition, diversity rationale, strategy, targets of efforts and organizational strategy” (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007, p. 5). The first model, the affirmative action and equity model, emerged in the 1950s and 1960s and was an outgrowth of Civil Rights legislation and protests. The motivation for change for colleges and universities, according to the affirmative action and equity model, was to show compliance with federal and state laws that prohibited overt discrimination of underrepresented minority groups. Affirmative action and equity offices were responsible for leading their universities’ efforts to “diversify the university’s faculty, staff, and students and to eliminate discriminatory practices”

(Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007, p. 5). The strategy of these offices was remediation of minority students and the elimination of discrimination within the campus community, and the diversity rationale was for social justice (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007).

Similar to the affirmative action and equity model, the multicultural model's diversity rationale, according to Williams and Wade-Golden (2007), was social justice. This model emerged from movements in the 1960s and 1970s, including the Black Power Movement. One driver of change for the multicultural model was campus protests. The multicultural model included various ethnic groups as well as women, individuals with disabilities, gays and lesbians, and international students. With this model, colleges and universities designed their diversity efforts specifically to help targeted groups; additionally, academic research on these groups grew in popularity. The organization of these offices included multicultural affairs, cultural centers and programs dedicated to ethnic and gender studies (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007). The strategy of the multicultural model was "providing diversity services, fostering community and tolerance on campus, and conducting research and teaching courses in the areas of diversity" (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007, p. 5).

The diversity and learning model was an extension of the 1978 *Bakke* decision in which the Supreme Court acknowledged the importance of diversity in higher education. Williams & Wade-Golden (2007) stated that the 2003 University of Michigan decisions crystallized this model. The diversity and learning model viewed diversity as a way to enhance the learning of all students. This model did not target specific groups like the other two models; instead, it targeted all students because of the educational benefits associated with diversity. The diversity and learning model focused on inclusiveness for the entire student population by incorporating multicultural perspectives into classroom curriculum and research on diversity initiatives throughout the campus community (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007).

The three models do not exist in isolation; Williams and Wade-Golden (2007) agreed that they often overlap. In their discussion of the historical roots of chief diversity officers, Williams and Wade-Golden asserted that the creation of chief diversity officer positions was an outgrowth of either the affirmative action and equity model or the multicultural model. The responsibilities of chief diversity officers include similar duties

to early administrators who worked in minority affairs, but also departed and expanded upon their missions. With colleges and universities increasingly creating diversity-based initiatives and policies, the hiring of diversity officers is necessary to oversee these new initiatives. According to Williams and Wade-Golden, “This expansion is one of the reasons that chief diversity officers are emerging, as presidents and other senior leaders look to maximize resources and coordinate initiatives through the work of the CDO [chief diversity officer]” (p. 6). As the demand for chief diversity officers continues to grow, so do the distinctions among this group as evidenced in the following discussion on the types of diversity officers in higher education.

Types of Diversity Officers.

According to Banerji (2005), there are three types of diversity officers: “chief diversity officers who report directly to the president or provost; senior diversity officers who report to everybody above the dean; and diversity officers who report to all senior-level administrators” (p. 38). Because diversity officers are relatively new to most colleges and universities, people holding titles related to diversity can report to either the president, academic provost, or vice president of student affairs depending on the institution (Banerji, 2005). Diversity officers’ titles vary from institution to institution, and Gose (2006) noted that these titles are referred to as vice presidents of equity to vice provosts of diversity and academic initiatives. The term diversity officer is a recent one. For the purposes of this study, the definition of diversity officer is a person whose primary responsibilities focus on diversity and he or she had or currently serves as the lead campus contact for issues related to diversity. I am purposely moving beyond Banerji’s (2005) specific definition for types of diversity officers, because I am reluctant to assume whom an administrator reports to within the organizational structure based strictly on a title. To alleviate confusion regarding titles, I use the term diversity officer to represent both current and past administrators unless I am referring to a specific position, instead of the varying titles of directors of black affairs, minority affairs, or multicultural affairs.

The responsibilities of diversity officers have evolved and now include recruiting faculty of color and implementing a more diverse curriculum (Banerji, 2005). When black administrators first came to white campuses, most of their responsibilities were

focused primarily on students, with some attention given to faculty recruitment. Some of the early administrators came from the faculty ranks to work in diversity-related positions, and that scenario is more common today than in the 1970s and 1980s. Initially, these positions were created in response to the increase in enrollments of black students and were not necessarily meant for the occupant to serve dual roles as administrator and professor (Hoskins, 1978). Today, most diversity officers come from the faculty ranks and, according to Dr. Steve O. Michael, Vice Provost for Diversity and Academic initiatives at Kent State University, “it is important for the person to have a faculty background,” because they are responsible for overseeing curriculum and policy (Banerji, 2005, p. 38). Also, because of their experience as faculty members, they have the skills necessary for conversations about curricular changes. A more detailed discussion of the backgrounds of the diversity officers is provided in chapter four’s section changing credentials of diversity officers.

National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education (NADOHE).

As the number of diversity officers grew both within academe and in the business sector, an organization was formed to address issues and concerns related to institutional diversity at colleges and universities. The National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education (NADOHE) held its first meeting in February, 2007 (“NADOHE History,” 2008). They declared their mission to be:

serving as the preeminent voice of higher education diversity policy by organizing, supporting, and guiding the collective efforts of individuals charged with institutional diversity leadership to transform institutions, inspire colleagues, engage campus, governmental and private sector leaders, and advance the ideals of diversity. The goal of NADOHE is to establish a network in the United States and globally that links senior and chief diversity officers, multicultural experts and other similar experts who are interested in policy-oriented issues related to institutional transformation that leads to a more inclusive environment. NADOHE will foster research activities that have impact on diversity in higher education institutions. Indeed, the vision of NADOHE is to enable higher education institutions to rise to the challenge of integrating the human family for a better world. (“NADOHE Mission,” 2008)

The challenge to be more inclusive and integrated in all aspects of campus life is one that appears to have the bulk of its responsibility falling on the shoulders of diversity officers. The recent creation of diversity officer positions indicates that campuses realize that

attention must continue to be given to diversity and for now, hiring diversity officers is how most institutions are responding. An organization like NADOHE provides a support system to diversity officers as well as reinforces the need to have diversity at all levels of an university's organization, including policy and academic affairs, and not just student affairs.

The recent founding of NADOHE is indicative of how new the positions of diversity officers are to the higher education community. Although NADOHE is a newly created organization, the American Association for Affirmative Action (AAAA) was established in 1974 and was founded for members of the education community working with affirmative action and equal opportunity, as well as those from both public and private sectors ("Affirmative Action," 2010). AAAA and NADOHE appear on the surface to have similar goals in terms of furthering an agenda that values diversity and equal opportunity within the higher education community; however, in the discussion in chapter four, it is clear that the formation of NADOHE has resulted in questions of why a new organization was needed to meet the needs of newly hired diversity officers despite the existence of AAAA. NADOHE provides diversity officers opportunities to share their common experiences, as lead administrators for diversity initiatives on traditionally white campuses with one another and brings some legitimacy to these experiences. These experiences, also known as counterstories, are central to critical race theory (CRT) and an important instrument for giving a voice to people of color who continue to be silenced in studies of higher education.

NADOHE provides a nurturing environment for diversity officers similar to the way CRT, a theoretical framework that places race at the center of analysis, provides a space for legal scholars studying and critiquing race within the American legal system. However, researchers in the field of education have begun applying the tenets of CRT to educational practices. Although CRT has roots in legal scholarship and law schools, the tenets and principles of this framework have been used to inform scholarship and research in education for more than ten years (Yosso, 2006). Yosso stated "...CRT scholars in education have theorized, examined, and challenged the ways race and racism shape our schooling structures, practices, and discourses" (p. 7). It is this application of race to issues within the educational institutions that renders the CRT framework useful

to this study, along with insight into the experiences of black administrators at predominantly white institutions. Both NADOHE and CRT theorists emphasize the importance of blacks, and other underrepresented groups, uniting to reflect on their experiences in an attempt to conquer oppressive structures. Although NADOHE is committed to supporting diversity officers, not everyone charged with diversity initiatives is excited about the recent changes in the organization of diversity affairs at colleges and universities. These new positions are often met with skepticism and criticism and perhaps surprisingly, some of the harshest critics are those who have been in the trenches of minority or diversity affairs for decades. Both diversity officers who have worked in the positions for years and the newcomers have experiences worthy of sharing. These stories, or counterstories, shed new light on a topic that has not been adequately documented in the past.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Race Theory.

Critical race theory guides this study. It is within this theoretical framework that the stories of the interviewees are interpreted and shared. According to Hatch (2002), “Researchers and participants [in the critical/feminist paradigm] work together to expose injustices in society” (p. 49). Ladson-Billings (1999) argued that those who adopt a critical race theory must be willing to “expose racism in education *and* propose radical solutions for addressing it” (p. 27). Examples of how the diversity officers in this study resist and expose diversity is sprinkled throughout this study. During the discussion on pigeonholing, several administrators shared how they actively resisted and exposed injustice by sharing career advice with others, as well as how it was shared with them. The exposure of injustice that both Hatch and Ladson-Billings referred to is also a part of the discussion on racial uplift in chapter five. The administrators move beyond exposing injustice and offer their guidance for younger generations and members of their community in an attempt to navigate them through structures of racism.

Roithmayr (1999) called critical race theory (CRT) “an exciting, revolutionary intellectual movement that puts race at the center of critical analysis...no set of doctrines or methodologies defines critical race theory” (p. 1). Proponents of CRT acknowledge that racism remains very prevalent in American society and this centering of race as an

attempt to discuss issues is one of the main tenets of CRT (Bergerson, 2003). Other tenets of CRT include countering notions of colorblindness, neutrality and merit and focusing on the voice and experiences of people of color. CRT advocates are skeptical of arguments in support of colorblindness, neutrality and merit because these arguments fail to acknowledge racism in institutional structures (Roithmayr; Bergerson). Bergerson (2003) argued that a problem with claims of neutrality is “whites consider whiteness the norm; neutrality is perceived as equivalent to whiteness” (p. 53). Howard-Hamilton (2003) citing Villalpando and Bernal, noted that critical race theorists seek to end the oppression that has plagued the United States since its founding and hope to alleviate structures of domination in its society that hinder equality for blacks, other people of color, and all the oppressed.

CRT grew out of a larger school of thought, critical legal studies (CLS) (Roithmayr, 1999). CLS is a “leftist legal movement that challenged the traditional legal scholarship that focused on doctrinal and policy analysis in favor of a form of law that spoke to the specificity of individuals and groups in social and cultural contexts” (Ladson-Billings, 1999, p. 11). CLS supporters are interested in exposing internal and external inconsistencies in the U.S. legal system that support and maintain the present class structure and promotes hegemony (Ladson-Billings, 1999). Because CLS scholars failed to include race as a part of the critique of oppressive structures, several legal scholars of color formed a group committed to critiquing oppression from a racial standpoint. Although dates for the origin of CRT differ (some believe its outgrowth from CLS was in the mid- 1970s and others in the early 1980s), it is generally acknowledged that Derrick Bell was a founding member. Along with Bell, Charles Lawrence, Richard Delgado, Mari Matsuda, Patricia Williams, and Kimberle Crenshaw realized the need for continued action to further the gains of the Civil Rights Movement (Taylor, 1999).

Besides believing that racial oppression was absent from discussion in CLS, critical race theorists decided that new ways of creating justice were needed as the old accomplishments made by supporters of the Civil Rights Movement faded. Bell and others no longer felt that filing amicus briefs, marching, and protesting were making noticeable change and that progress was slow (Ladson-Billings, 1999). The principal idea in CRT is that racism is “normal not aberrant, in American society” (Delgado, 1995,

p. xiv, cit. in Ladson-Billings, 1999, p. 12) and because it is ubiquitous it seems normal to members of our society (Ladson-Billings, 1999).

Critical Race Theory and Counterstories.

CRT places an emphasis on the experiential knowledge of people of color, and this is often presented as counterstories. Bergerson (2003) defined counterstories as “narratives that challenge the dominant version of reality” (p. 54). Bergerson summarized Delgado who asserted “that for outgroups, people whose experiences have been marginalized, counterstories create bonds” (Bergerson, 2003, p. 54). According to Yosso (2006), counterstories, or lived reflections of people of color, place emphasis on the experiences of people of color and these experiences are rich sources of knowledge and data. Yosso asserted that these counterstories are told in response to majoritarian storytelling that “omit and distort histories and realities of oppressed communities” (p. 10). Because of a history of racism and white privilege, Yosso argued that the stories of middle and upper class whites are considered as historical accounts and others are thought of as anecdotal. Whites are not the only ones who tell majoritarian stories; people of color and other oppressed groups often accept and tell these stories, too. Yosso stated that oppressed people often recount majoritarian stories to receive social benefits. Majoritarian stories, whether recounted by whites or oppressed groups, are not considered as stories, because like white privilege, Yosso argued, they seem natural and are often invisible. According to Yosso:

...counterstories do not focus on trying to convince people that racism exists. Instead, counterstories seek to document the persistence of racism from the perspectives of those injured and victimized by its legacy. Furthermore, counterstories bring attention to those who courageously resist racism and struggle toward a more socially and racially just society. (p. 10)

Critical Race Theory and Interest Convergence.

One concept of CRT that lends itself to this study is the idea of interest convergence. Ladson-Billings (1999) defined this idea as “the place where the interests of Whites and people of color intersect” (p. 14). Taylor (1999) stated that the origin of interest convergence is in Marxist theory which posited that the bourgeoisie would only accept progress by the proletariat when those advances benefitted members of the

bourgeoisie more. Donnor's (2005) definition of interest convergence turns to its legal origin. Donnor stated:

The interest-convergence principle is premised *on a racial groups'* legal history within the US. This legal history serves as a precedent or social context for demonstrating how judicial relief for racism only occurs when it directly or indirectly furthers the best interest of the nation rather than the group that suffered the injustice. (p. 58)

Derrick Bell, one of the first critical race theorists, is credited with introducing interest convergence. One of Bell's most compelling arguments about interest convergence regarded the United States and the ending of public school segregation (Donnor, 2005). Bell believed that the primary reason the United States chose to end segregation was because the United States was losing credibility in the fight against communism in countries around the world. Because the United States was seen by others as a country that struggled with issues of racial equality among its own, Bell argued that the U.S. would be unable to convince other countries of the need for equitable standards, since the country was unable to provide black citizens with equality. Donnor, summarizing Bell's comments on the *Brown* decision, stated, "For Bell (1995b), the Supreme Court was more interested in providing 'immediate credibility to America's struggle with communist countries to win the hearts and minds of emerging third world people' than in doing what was morally right (p.233)" (p.58). The notion of interest convergence is still applicable years after *Brown*, most notably at institutions of higher education, particularly in Kentucky.

Another example of interest convergence relates to a violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by the state of Kentucky. The threat of federal funds being withheld from colleges and universities could be considered the catalyst that resulted in the state government channeling resources into the previously neglected historically black institution, Kentucky State University ("OCR Letter," 1982). The fear of losing federal funding prompted state leaders to improve conditions and increase resources at Kentucky State University, which unintentionally benefited blacks in the process of helping whites maintain funding at the seven predominantly white public institutions. With the state institutions presented with the fact that federal monies could and would be withheld if they did not immediately begin to dismantle the dual system of education, many

institutions hired persons of color to help increase the numbers of blacks on campus (“WKU Board of Regents Minutes”, 1982; “MSU Budget Memo”, 1984). In higher education the point of entry for blacks was in positions with primary responsibilities for the supervision of students of color (Hoskins, 1978; Johnson, 1974). Unfortunately, over forty years after these scholars wrote about the introduction of blacks into higher education, black administrators in these positions are still concerned that they could become victims of pigeonholing and have limited career opportunities.

Tokenism

During my pilot study in the spring of 2006 (Johnson, 2006), I interviewed four black administrators who held positions responsible for some aspect of diversity. Out of the four participants in the pilot study, only one of them had a position in which his sole responsibility focused on diversity. Another professor told me that he would never accept a position in which his only responsibility was diversity because he felt that would result in him being pigeonholed. The participant who was solely responsible for diversity noted that when he tells his colleagues about his role and responsibilities in higher education administration, many pity him and wonder how he could hold a law degree and yet, accept a position with limited career mobility. He also shared that he chose his current position because of his commitment to social justice and equity, not because of someone else’s idea or agenda, and definitely not because he feels that this is the only position he is capable of holding within higher education administration.

The idea that blacks are only in positions with a focus on diversity because they are placed there by their institutions is an unfair and limited assessment by outsiders about the experiences of the administrators. One possible explanation for onlookers pitying diversity officers is that scholars writing on this subject suggested black administrators might be assigned such positions, rather than more traditional administrative roles, as a result of tokenism or the view of black administrators as window dressings. Tokens, as I define them, are usually one or a few people of color hired primarily because of their skin color. People who are considered tokens are on the periphery of the organizational structure in terms of utility and overall influence, and they are often aware that their primary function within the organization is to serve in positions where their skin color is more advantageous than the expertise and skills they bring to the

position. The notion that tokens are only deemed necessary when they directly serve as a benefit to the majority is similar to the definition of interest convergence offered by critical race theorists. Regardless of the lack of interest or genuineness associated with the effort to integrate predominantly white universities, the acts will result in benefits for the majority because, unfortunately, people of color in higher education are still subjected to situations in which they are considered tokens.

Niemann (1999) described her experience as the only faculty member of color at a predominantly white institution as one riddled with racist encounters with her colleagues and administrators that led to her feeling like a token in her department. Niemann asserted, “I felt representative of all ethnic/racial minorities and believed that the department cared only about the *appearance* of diversity without actually valuing diversity” (p. 120). Niemann’s (1999) experience and the works of scholars writing on early black administrators as tokens, suggested that people of color in these positions are often showcased and made visible when the majority needs their visibility to appeal to prospective employees or superiors, and to be in compliance with governmental policies. However, once the token has been paraded around, he can again resume his place within the university, until the next event or government review when the majority will need to impress outsiders with the token who physically embodies diversity and inclusiveness.

Critical race scholars would also agree that this is an example of interest convergence because employees of color are used to gain benefits for the majority. The benefits come in the form of the majority being able to tout themselves as an organization with a commitment to diversity. Also, people of color are indirectly benefited by serving as an informal recruitment tool, which also increases the presence of people of color. Whether or not the majority has a genuine commitment is questionable, but what is clear is that once again the interests of the majority and the minority converge, with the majority seemingly benefitting the most.

Hoskins (1978) contended that “many black students and others have viewed the black administrator on the white campus as a ‘token’-often without having had meaningful contact or dialogue with the individual” (p. 2). According to Hoskins, black administrators entered historically white campuses in the 1960s to advise white administrators on how to diffuse volatile situations involving black students or to resolve

black student grievances. Hoskins argued that black administrators on white campuses were little more than puppets used by the white administrators to monitor and report on the actions and behavior of the black student body. Specifically, Hoskins asserted that the newly recruited black staff were usually given responsibilities related only to minority affairs, admissions offices, financial aid, or special assistant to the president. He concluded:

...to many militants and others, black administrators' power and decision-making authority were viewed as relegated to opinions given in private conferences with his/her superiors to advise on how to handle some minority student flare-up or to act as intermediary to settle minority student grievances. (p. 2)

Hoskins suggested that the black administrators lacked real authority and noted that black administrators were of little use to their white counterparts regarding issues outside the realm of race.

Johnson (1974) also addressed similar issues regarding black administrators and the roles and responsibilities they accepted on white campuses. Johnson was even more skeptical than Hoskins (1978) in his assessment of black administrators, when he asserted:

As it stands now the black administration at non-black institutions is manifested in several individuals who occupy 'window dressing positions.' They are the recently acquired black mannequins who are brought out on special occasions; say like on "Mother's Day," to do a special job of seduction for very esoteric audiences. These audiences and special occasions, can run the gamut, from seeing a press release about the institution's involvement in the plight of the black community (in most cases, a sham) to displaying the new fire extinguisher to dash out blazes which frequently result as a corollary of black and white encounter sessions.... (p. 20)

Johnson argued that black students, faculty, and administrators were introduced to white campuses in a time of upheaval. More specifically, Johnson contended that white students, faculty, and administrators were dealing with their own tensions when blacks were introduced, adding another dimension to a situation that did not need any further complications. Like Hoskins, Johnson discussed the types of positions that black administrators at predominantly white institutions held; however, Johnson also argued that there was both an intrapersonal and an interpersonal conflict for these black administrators. According to Johnson:

...newly recruited black faculty and administrators found that they had developed a conflict of allegiance between their employer and their race. This is a daily problem for the new black personnel on the campuses. There are situations where there is no doubt as to where their dedication should be, but on the other hand, certain circumstances are so ambiguous that black faculty and administrators find themselves in a quandary over which direction to go. This psychological state is the intra- and interpersonal conflict of black personnel in higher education. (p. 6)

Johnson suggested that when they face an issue concerning black students or faculty, and the black administrators do not side with the needs of black students or faculty, the black administrator can be considered disloyal to the black community.

Not all blacks in the 1960s and 1970s held positions in minority affairs; others were introduced into administrative positions on white campuses through federally funded programs. Rolle et al. (2000) found in their interview with one of the eight executive-level black administrators that the administrator was hired through federally-mandated programs such as Upward Bound or Veterans programs. Rolle et al. summarized the administrator:

I was well qualified for the Assistant Dean of Student Services; however, at that particular university all African Americans in the administrative track were part of federally-mandated programs. So, I was not given the position but was made the coordinator of veteran services. In addition, I felt federally-sponsored programs became the whites' way to deal with affirmative action. (p. 83)

Comments like the previous one imply blacks were in positions with limited career advancement possibilities and this was a result of institutional customs rather than personal career choice. Because critical race theorists strongly believe that racism is a natural part of American society, they believe that institutions perpetuate racism. The amount of credence given to merit advancement in American society is in direct opposition to institutional racism, because in this argument, everyone has the same opportunities to succeed (Bergerson, 2003). Bergerson contended that because whites believe one's merit determines his or her plight in life, it is difficult for whites to grasp that "people of color are systematically excluded from opportunities to succeed, by individual racism as well as racist structures and institutions" (p. 53). Proponents of CRT assert that the tradition of racism continues because of policies and structures that are influenced by majority notions of individual merit (Bergerson, 2003).

Racial Uplift and Activism

Another idea that must be explored in terms of black administrators' academic career choices is the concept of racial uplift and the role it possibly plays in their professional and personal lives. The concept of racial uplift in the black community dates back to the 1800s (Logan, 1998). In 1896, the National Association of Colored Women was founded to provide services to the black community that would ultimately result in racial uplift (Banks, 2006). According to Banks (2006):

Racial uplift was the dominant ideology articulated within the black community for improving their political, social, and economic position during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Uplift ideals entailed constructing a positive black identity to counter racist beliefs about blacks. Middle-class African American women promoted the ideal of individual self-sacrifice in order to serve community needs through self-help projects such as setting up health clinics, kindergartens, and orphanages for the African-American community. (p. 604)

Logan's definition of racial uplift was based on her historical research on 19th century black women. She defined it as "almost any type of political activity designed to improve conditions for black people during the critical post-Reconstruction period- - the nadir- - of Plessy v. Ferguson, mob violence, and Jim Crow democracy" (p. 2). Logan made the distinction between her definition and other constructs of racial uplift that usually refer to elitist blacks who have adopted cultural values from whites and do not have as their priority a goal of furthering gains for other blacks. According to Logan (1998), her professional life was "personal and political". She summarized a book by Angela Davis in which Davis discussed the marriage between personal and political evident in the songs of early blues singers. Logan, summarizing Davis, stated, "...classic blues women Bessie Smith, Gertrude Ma Rainey, and Billie Holiday in the 1920's demonstrated the truth of this notion, that the personal is political, when they sang about domestic violence, discrimination, and lynching..." (p. 3). Logan contended that her willingness to represent the interests of blacks was due to her own passions and not a result of her being forced to serve in such capacities.

Critical race theorists view individuals in these positions as providing a refuge for students of color on traditionally white campuses to share counterstories (Howard-Hamilton, 2003). Howard-Hamilton argued that on traditionally white campuses where students of color are subjected to racial microaggressions, it is imperative that students

are provided with either a physical space, counterspace, or the presence of people at an institution that adopt Afrocentric values. Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) defined microaggressions as either automatic or unconscious insults that can be verbal, nonverbal, or visual. The physical space that Howard-Hamilton is referring to could be offices responsible for diversity initiatives as well as cultural centers and the organization of people could be African American sororities and fraternities. Critical race theorists also would suggest that diversity officers provide counterspaces for students of color who are on campuses which are a microcosm of a racist American society and are subjected to racism at their educational institutions. Howard-Hamilton stated “The primary emphasis of the counterspace is on finding shelter from the daily torrent of microaggressions and to be in a place that is validating and supporting” (p. 23). For the diversity officers participating in this study, their role as advocates for issues of equality allows them to contribute to racial uplift in their own communities by providing support to all people of color in their campus community.

Dissertation Outline

In the next chapter, the methodology is explained, including justification for the study design. Also, information on the participant selection and data collection are discussed along with biographical sketches of the participants. Chapter three begins with a closer examination of the federal legislation that Kentucky public institutions violated and the state’s response to the allegations with its Desegregation Plan. A history of the University of Louisville, Western Kentucky University, and Morehead State University’s diversity positions and offices are presented revealing their origins and providing information on the early years.

Chapter four takes a look at the tensions that exist among the diversity officers. The tensions are based on the changing credentials and changing organizational location of diversity officers. Assumptions are made by the diversity officers about one another with regards to the increasing changes of the positions. Also, this chapter includes a controversial discussion of the “Willie Lynch Syndrome” in an attempt to address the intraracial tensions among the diversity officers. The conversation moves from intraracial tensions to interracial discrimination, more specifically pigeonholing, and the role of institutional racism in the careers of the diversity officers. The experiences

regarding pigeonholing are critiqued based on a major line of thought in CRT that racism is embedded in the fabric of American life. The argument made is that the pervasiveness of racism has played a significant role in compartmentalizing black administrators in these positions with limited opportunities for mobility in the academy.

Finally, in chapter five the concept of racial uplift, including historical definitions of this ideology, and how it relates to the black administrators in this study is discussed. The counterstories of how the administrators define their work are a cornerstone of this study. These counterstories are a rejection of majoritarian storytelling which silences the stories and experiences of racial triumph. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of this study, including what this research means for black administrators in American higher education and the entire higher education community. Also, suggestions for future exploration into the work of black administrators at predominantly white institutions are proposed.

Chapter Two: Methodology

As mentioned in chapter one, critical race theory (CRT) does not have a set of methodologies or doctrines (Roithmayr, 1999). For the purposes of this study, CRT is thought of as a theoretical framework and although counterstories are borrowed from CRT, the counterstories are considered as a concept of CRT that aids in the reduction of majoritarian myths and not a specific method. Experiential knowledge in the form of counterstories is essential not only for this study but to critical race scholars interested in how "...Communities of Color experience and respond to racism as it intersects with other forms of subordination in the United States educational system" (Yosso, 2006, p. 8). Counterstories should not be considered synonymous with any and all experiences of people of color, or any socially marginalized groups. Instead, counterstories are evident when there is a challenge to dominant structures that are considered normal and legitimate because of whom and what they represent. Not all of the experiences of the diversity officers were counterstories; the counterstories are most pronounced in discussions on pigeonholing and racial uplift, as they candidly discuss resisting dominant structures of oppression. In order to gain insight into the intersection of race and career choice, the experiences of the black administrators in this study were obtained from a two-part interview, which is discussed in further detail in this chapter. Prior to the discussion of data collection and data analysis, a justification for selecting case studies for this study is provided. Also, an explanation and background of the participants from three institutions selected for the study, as well as those not included, are discussed in this chapter.

Case Study

This study uses an interpretive case study design. Patton (2002) stated:

The case study approach to qualitative analysis constitutes a specific way of collecting, organizing, and analyzing data; in that sense it represents an analysis process. The purpose is to gather comprehensive, systematic, and in-depth information about each case of interest. (p. 447)

Interpretive case studies focus on an interpretation of collected data. According to Merriam (1988), "Interpretive case studies, too, contain rich, thick description. These descriptive data, however, are used to develop conceptual categories or to illustrate,

support, or challenge theoretical assumptions held prior to the data gathering” (p. 27). Interpretative case study is appropriate for this study because the approach attends specifically to interpretations within a theoretical framework.

Because the diversity officers in this study are in their positions within a university setting, it is difficult to examine these positions in a vacuum. Instead, their experiences should be placed in a context which illuminates their individual experiences. The unit of analysis in this study is the diversity officer at three predominantly white public institutions of higher education in Kentucky. The administrators who serve or have served in that position are important to this study because they provide information on the position due to their first-hand knowledge of the roles and responsibilities that the position entails. Patton asserted, “The key issue in selecting and making decisions about the appropriate unit of analysis is to decide what it is you want to be able to say something about at the end of the study” (p. 229). Even though the diversity officers work within the confines of a university, this study is interested in the diversity officers’ position and not the universities at which they are employed. However, in order to understand the position and the office, a closer look at the universities’ history is needed.

Institution Selection

Kentucky is not different from other states in its failure to abide by federal legislation aimed at desegregating colleges and universities; yet, it is because of my status as a native Kentuckian that I am interested in exploring how federal legislation led to the creation and eventual implementation of The Commonwealth of Kentucky Higher Education Desegregation Plan (The Desegregation Plan), and two iterations commonly referred to singularly as The Kentucky Plan (1990-1995 and 1997-2002), to achieve racial diversity in postsecondary institutions in the state. Three institutions, Morehead State University (MSU), Western Kentucky University (WKU), and the University of Louisville (U of L), were chosen because they each represent a distinctly different story. MSU is included in this study because it is located in the eastern region of the state, which has a low percentage of blacks, but MSU has been a trailblazer in its efforts to integrate its campus since the 1950s (Flatt, 1999). According to Flatt, MSU’s current service region includes twenty-two counties, and three of those counties have never had a black resident. In 1956, MSU became the first state-supported institution to “assign

Negro students to dormitories, grant Negroes and whites the opportunity to occupy the same rooms and to place Negro married students in University owned apartments” (“Crager Memo,” 1984). This was not the only progressive move on the part of MSU; in 1966, MSU became one of the first predominantly white state-supported institutions in Kentucky to hire black faculty (“Crager Memo,” 1984). Despite their isolated location, in Rowan County, MSU has had reasonable success attracting blacks. The trailblazing efforts of MSU makes the institution an ideal candidate to explore and understand their diversity officers’ position and the office’s role in trying to break the legacy of segregation and racism.

In contrast to MSU, WKU is located in Bowling Green, an area of the state that is not as racially homogenous and has the potential of attracting more black students. According to a memo dated December 19, 1969, from the Council on Public Higher Education’s Executive Director, Ted Gilbert, WKU had 392 resident black students and 47 non-resident black students, with a total black student population of 439 for the fall semester (“CPHE Black Student Enrollment,” 1969). The black student enrollment at WKU was higher than at the University of Kentucky, the state’s flagship, which at the same time reported an enrollment of 137 black students (“CPHE Black Student Enrollment,” 1969). The enrollment figures for U of L were not available, because at the time U of L did not keep enrollment records based on race. However, one could speculate, based on the demographics of the city and the black population, the enrollment at U of L was the second highest in the state behind what was then known as Kentucky State College, the state’s only historically black institution. A memo from the Council on Public Higher Education in Kentucky recorded WKU as having the third highest enrollment of black students in the late 1960s (“CPHE Black Student Enrollment”, 1969).

The last institution included in the study is U of L because it is an urban university with a history of being progressive in terms of race relations. U of L was the first predominantly white school in Kentucky and the Southeast of the U.S. to have an Office of Black Affairs (OBA) (“Office of Black Affairs,” 1970). The OBA, originally proposed by the Black Student Union, came into being on May 19, 1969 and was endorsed by U of L administration who believed that an office dedicated to the needs of its black students, staff, and faculty was a priority for the institution (“Office of Black

Affairs,” 1970). The responsibilities of the OBA, when it was originally chartered, ranged from recruiting black students and faculty to fundraising to finance a black studies department (Peterson, 1969). U of L’s history of the OBA is interesting because it was unique to the state and region, and the organizational leadership was advanced for its time, with many institutions just now beginning to emulate what U of L was doing in the 1970s. Most universities have typically had a Director of Minority Affairs, but only recently, as is the case with both MSU and WKU, has a vice president or diversity officer position been created. More about the history of these offices and positions are discussed in chapter three.

Kentucky has eight four-year public institutions of higher education. MSU and WKU were selected for this study because of personal experience with each university. Murray State, Northern Kentucky, and Eastern Kentucky are not included in this study. The University of Kentucky, the state’s flagship institution, also is not a part of this study but is a priority for future exploration along with the other public universities. In addition to the aforementioned reasons, U of L was selected because of its geographic location in the largest city in the state. Also, because of the size of Louisville, it is assumed that the city has a significant black population. After beginning preliminary archival research on the University of Louisville, it was evident that it should be included in this study because of the rich history affiliated with their Office of Black Affairs dating back to the late 1960s. Therefore, the University’s racial demographics and urban setting makes their participation in this study a more compelling story than the University of Kentucky because of Lexington’s smaller size compared to Louisville’s population.

Historically Black Universities and Diversity Officers.

Kentucky State University (KSU), the state’s historically black university, is omitted from this study. The reason that KSU is not included is because one of the purposes of this study is to examine the roles of black administrators on white campuses. In the fall of 2008, during a phone conversation with the president of KSU’s secretary, I learned that KSU does not have a person or office responsible for institutional diversity; however, this is not true of other historically black universities. Tennessee State University, another black land-grant institution, has an Office of Equity, Diversity, and Compliance that reports directly to the president (“Equal Opportunity,” 2008).

Tennessee State University is not the only historically black institution adopting the diversity officer model from predominantly white institutions; Prairie View A&M in Texas has hired a director of multicultural affairs. According to Prairie View's President, George C. Wright:

I believe [diversity] even serves a purpose in our historically Black universities. As the world continues to change—and especially the state of Texas with our changing demographics—the responsibility to educate all underserved populations of the state must include Hispanics, Asians, and even some whites. (Banerji, 2005, p. 40)

A trend is emerging among historically black colleges and universities to hire a person responsible for diversity, but again for the purposes of this study, the focus is on diversity officers at predominantly white institutions. This study concentrates on the experiences of black administrators by actually speaking to diversity officers and not just writing about them without hearing what led them to these positions in higher education administration. This is an important issue not only in Kentucky, my focus, but nationally as well, because the perspectives of these administrators typically have been absent from literature and these experiences should be highlighted at both the state and national level. This study shares the experiences of black administrators working in minority affairs offices while also providing the history of these offices and the legal context of federal and state legislation. The Desegregation Plan, as the overarching policy, provides context for this study's discussion. Also, The Desegregation Plan is examined for its impact on the creation of diversity officer positions and diversity offices.

Data Collection

In addition to The Desegregation Plan, archival documents were collected, reviewed, and analyzed for each of the three institutions in the study. The archival documents included, but were not limited to, the following documents: position descriptions, Boards of Trustee minutes, inter-office memorandums, office brochures and pamphlets, enrollment data, and local and campus newspaper articles. The majority of the archival data were collected from the archives of each institution from their files for the offices of minority or multicultural affairs. Prior to arriving at the archives of U of L, WKU, and MSU, I contacted the library staff to schedule an appointment. Once I arrived at the archives of the three universities, I was allowed access to the files pertaining to the

offices and positions. I reviewed campus and community newspaper articles to aid in the construction of positions and events occurring on campus. In addition to newspapers, memorandums from administration and office brochures and newsletters provided historical accounts of events, as well as the changing roles of the offices. The Commonwealth of Kentucky Higher Education Desegregation Plan (Desegregation Plan) was the state policy reviewed to understand the intersection of this policy with the three universities positions and offices responsible for diversity. I did not choose to review presidential papers or institutional documents that were not included in the files of the minority offices. I chose not to review this type of archival document because I was interested in the perspective of the diversity officers and how they understood their positions and experiences. I realize that the perspective provided by the presidential papers would have possibly provided another viewpoint for this study, and this is a consideration for future academic exploration of this subject. The study participants were also able to provide documents that were of significance to this study. Along with archival data, three participants from each of the universities, who worked or are currently working in positions responsible for diversity, were interviewed (see Appendix A for a list of study participants).

Study Participants.

Focusing on black administrators at MSU, WKU, and U of L not only highlights the experiences of the individual administrators but also shows how the offices and the positions have changed since their inception. The participants come from varied educational and professional backgrounds. Preliminary data collection at the archives of the institutions generated a list of retired administrators. Also, from informal conversations with people who worked at various institutions for several years, a list of diversity officers was obtained. The names of current diversity officers were gathered by reviewing the institutional websites and conducting a search for people working with diversity initiatives. In the end I focused on three diversity officers from each university. I did not choose a specific number of participants for this study; instead, the participants included are those who responded to my requests to participate.

What follows is a brief biographical introduction of each of the nine participants. Each participant was asked to write his or her own biographical description to be

included in this study. The majority of the participants drafted their own descriptions; however, others forwarded their Curriculum Vitae and I wrote the descriptions based on the information provided. The participants had an opportunity to offer their editorial comments on the description. I received responses from some of the participants; however, those participants who did not offer editorial comments still have their biographical sketches included based on the information they provided. The name and biographical description of each participant is grouped according to the institution. The biographical sketches below offer more detailed information than the participant reference list in Appendix A.

University of Louisville participants.

In the proceeding section are the biographical sketches of Dr. Ralph Fitzpatrick, who served as the Special Assistant to the President for Affirmative Action and Mr. Ed Laster, former Director of the Multicultural Academic Enhancement Program at the University of Louisville. The third participant from U of L, Dr. Mitchell Payne declined an invitation to have his biographical information included in the study,

During his thirty year work tenure, Dr. Fitzpatrick has been engaged in many levels throughout the University of Louisville as it transitioned from a quasi-private municipal institution to a premier state-supported metropolitan university. He initially accepted full-time employment with the University in 1974 as the coordinator of athletic academic services. For the past 20 years he has served at the pleasure of the board as an administrator and member of the President's staff and executive cabinet. In his current position as Associate Vice President for Community Engagement his primary assignments include working with the President and other senior university officials in coordinating and advancing the university's strategic planning initiatives; serving as the university's point person in the creation of new and effective partnerships between the university and the community; and representing the President and the university community on many civic boards. Dr. Fitzpatrick has been responsible for program/proposal development that yielded over \$8 million from local, state, and federal grants and private donors.

As a student, Dr. Fitzpatrick completed two undergraduate degrees in 1974 with honors and a master's degree in 1975 from the University of Louisville. His doctorate in Higher Education Management was awarded by the University of Pennsylvania in 2003. He is actively involved as a volunteer in the metro Louisville community. Dr. Fitzpatrick is happily married to his high school sweetheart, Ms. Brenda A. Fitzpatrick, and the father of two sons, Ralph Jr., and Byron Christopher Fitzpatrick.

Mr. Ed Laster (a.k.a. Mr. Ed) has over 25 years of experience at the University of Louisville. He is the former Director of the Multicultural Academic Enrichment office. He has also been the Assistant Director of REACH and the Assistant Director for Academic Support in the Division of Transitional Studies. Laster holds a bachelor's and master's degree in Education from the University of Louisville, and he is currently working on a doctoral degree in Education.

Laster started working at U of L in the West Louisville Education Program in the 1970s. He has experienced the University from numerous perspectives. Not only has he been a student, but he has also been a member of U of L's Board of Trustees. Additionally, he has held numerous positions affiliated with the University, including, President of U of L's School of Education Alumni Board, Chair of the Staff Senate, The Cardinal Newspaper Board, Board of Trustees Personnel Committee, Board of Directors for the University Research Foundation, Avenues to Teacher Certification, and Board of Directors for the University of Louisville Hospital. He was a two term Chair of the Commission on Diversity and Racial Equality and a member of U of L's 2002-03 NCAA Self-Study Group.

Dr. Mitchell Payne declined to have specifics about his professional and personal life included. Payne was employed at U of L from 1974 to 1986.

Western Kentucky University participants.

In the following section are the biographical descriptions of Vice President Howard Bailey, who has an impressive tenure at Western Kentucky University. Also, are the personal and professional descriptions of Dr. Richard C. Miller, the newly appointed Chief Diversity Officer at WKU, and Mr. Ricardo Nazario-Colón, the most recent Director of the Office of Diversity Programs.

After serving as the Dean of Student Life and Associate Vice President for Student Affairs and Development, in addition to numerous positions within higher education, Howard Bailey became the Vice President for Student Affairs in 2008. Vice President Bailey received his bachelor of arts in history (teacher certification) and a minor in political science from Western Kentucky University. He also completed his Master's of Arts in Counselor Education with an emphasis in Student Development from WKU.

Vice President Bailey's professional experience in higher education includes working in residence life leadership; serving as an adjunct faculty member; and representing WKU as an institutional representative for issues pertaining to *The Kentucky Plan* state legislation. He has also served as a national consultant on issues focused on race relations and group interactions. Vice President Bailey is active in both the campus community as well as the Bowling Green community where he is affiliated with the Bowling Green Human Rights Commission and the Bowling Green Junior High School Site Based Decision Making Council.

Vice President Bailey is a life member of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. He is married to Kayla and their son, Malcolm, is currently attending WKU. Vice President Bailey is originally from Middlesboro, KY.

Dr. Richard C. Miller is a native of Ithaca, New York whose teaching and administrative background in higher education spans over 33 years. He received his bachelor of science and master's of science degrees in Health and Physical Education from Ithaca College in 1969 and 1971, respectively. Dr. Miller was also selected as one of the top 10 graduates in his senior class. He earned his doctorate in Exercise Physiology from Springfield College in Massachusetts in 1975 while serving as a research fellow.

His teaching career began as an assistant professor at Bowie State University in 1975. After being appointed chair of the Department of Health and Physical Education in 1976, he continued to teach human anatomy and physiology, exercise physiology, and kinesiology. Having attained tenure and the rank of full professor in 1984, Dr. Miller also served as Acting Director of Athletics at Bowie State University for two years. In 1990, Dr. Miller was appointed as the founding Dean of the School of Health Sciences and Human Performance at Ithaca College. He continued in this capacity until August

2001 when he accepted an appointment as Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs at Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina. In July 2006, he was appointed Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs at Western Kentucky University, and in August 2007, was appointed Chief Diversity Officer, as an additional responsibility.

Dr. Miller is a member of several national organizations and served as an executive officer on several boards. In addition, he has had an extensive athletics career having been named an All-American baseball player at Ithaca College, then drafted by the San Francisco Giants professional baseball organization and played three years. He is an elected member to the Ithaca College Sports Hall of Fame, as well as the New York State Public High School Section IV Sports Hall of Fame. In 2003, Dr. Miller received Ithaca College's Distinguished Alumni Award. As a current Rotarian and former Rotary Club President, he has continued his commitment to enhancing opportunities for young and older adults in service to others.

Dr. Miller is married to Doris Jean Boyd Miller and they have two daughters and a grandson.

Mr. Ricardo Nazario-Colón is currently pursuing his Ph.D. in the Department of Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation at the University of Kentucky. He received his master's of science for Teachers in Spanish at Pace University in New York, New York. Nazario-Colón majored in both Latin American Studies and Spanish Literature and received his bachelors of arts degree from the University of Kentucky. Prior to becoming the Director of the Office of Diversity Programs at Western Kentucky University in 2008, Nazario-Colón was the Multicultural Program Director and the Director of the Martin Luther King Cultural Center, both at the University of Kentucky.

Currently, Nazario-Colón serves on several boards, committees, and taskforces in both the campus and greater community. They include: Counseling and Testing Department Advisory Board; M. L. King, Jr. Committee; Diversity Enhancement Committee; and Enrollment Management Taskforce. In addition to the aforementioned professional activities, Nazario-Colón presents workshops and trainings on topics ranging from diversity to leadership.

He is a lifetime member of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc, along with various organizations including, Phi Delta Kappa Honor Society. Nazario-Colón is married, and has one daughter.

Morehead State University participants.

Below are the biographical sketches of Dr. Francene Botts-Butler, current Director of the Office of Multicultural Student Services, Mr. Jerry Gore, the first Director of the Office of Minority Affairs, and Dr. Clarendia Phillips, the former Assistant Provost for Diversity. A more detailed description of how these individuals, along with the participants from U of L and WKU, are described in chapter three.

Dr. Francene Botts-Butler is originally from Lexington, KY, and now resides in Morehead, KY. She received her bachelor's of science degree in political science, with a second major in English from Kentucky State University. Dr. Botts-Butler received a master's of arts in political science with an emphasis in public law and public administration from Bowling Green State University and a Juris Doctorate from the University of Kentucky College Of Law.

Dr. Botts-Butler began working at Morehead State University in July 1995, as the Director of Human Resources. During this time she was involved in the Kentucky Society of Human Resources, American Association of Affirmative Action, National Association of College and University Attorneys, MSU African/African-American Professional Coalition, and many other activities. Dr. Botts-Butler joined the Division of Student Life on July 1, 1998, as the Director of Multicultural Student Services. She served as the Affirmative Action Officer for ten years and served as the Interim Affirmative Action Officer for approximately one year. Dr. Botts-Butler served as the Interim International Student Services coordinator for about a year. Prior to her work at MSU, Dr. Botts-Butler was the Affirmative Action Officer at Oklahoma State University from the end of 1992 until the spring of 1995. She also served six and one half years beginning in January of 1986 until May 1992 in the US Army JAG Corps. While in the JAG Corps, Dr. Botts-Butler served as Legal Assistant Attorney, Administrative Law Attorney, Trial Counsel, and Defense Counsel. She was also appointed as a Special Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Western District of Washington. Dr. Botts-Butler is licensed to practice law in the State of Kentucky.

Dr. Botts-Butler is currently involved with her sorority, Alpha Kappa Alpha, and completed a four year term as 1st Vice President and Program Chair and President in December 2006. Currently she is on her second time as Parliamentarian for the chapter. Since 2002, Dr. Botts-Butler has served on the regional and international risk-management committee. She is active with her church, Evergreen Baptist in Lexington, Kentucky. She has also been involved with Red Cross and the Heart Association; and is currently a Board Member and Chair of the Human Resources Committee of the local Habitat for Humanity. Dr. Botts-Butler has been actively involved with the Kentucky Association of Blacks in Higher Education, including serving as Parliamentarian and Audit Chair until elected President in April 2009. She will serve a 2-year term. She enjoys reading, cooking, and maintaining her health.

Historian Jerry Gore is the son of the late Mrs. Hattie Dunlap and the late Mr. Wilbert Dunlap of Maysville, Kentucky, and the late Mr. Austin Gore Sr. of Washington, D.C. He is a graduate of Morehead State University where he received his undergraduate degree in Industrial Arts Education, a master's degree in Education, and a master's degree in Higher Education and Administration. Gore is listed in Who's Who of American Colleges and Universities and the Outstanding Young Men of America, and was selected as the 1993 Distinguished Alumnus of the Mason County School system.

Gore is a former Friends Board member of Kentucky Educational Television, the Rowan County Arts Commission, the Morehead Human Rights Commission, and the board of directors of Pathways, Inc. He is also a founding member of the National Underground Railroad Museum, Inc., and founder of the Kentucky Underground Railroad Association. A member of the Kentucky Underground Railroad Advisory Board, and a member of the International Underground Railroad Association Advisory Board, he has served as a consultant on the history of the Underground Railroad to the following: National Park Service, federal judges and attorneys, secondary and elementary schools, pre-schools and kindergartens, churches, and civic groups throughout the United States of America. Gore is also the founder of Freedom Time, a company focusing on the history of African slavery and the Underground Railroad movement. He was featured on the History Channel's "Save Our History: The Underground Railroad" which aired in 53 million homes.

During his time at Morehead State University, Gore served in a number of positions before serving as the Director of Minority Student Affairs. He served as Assistant Director of Admissions, Counselor in the Special Services Program, which included Talent Search and Upward Bound, and Counselor in the University Counseling Center. Gore also served as the Executive Director of the National Underground Railroad Museum in Maysville, Kentucky. Gore was the recipient of the 1996 Christian Appalachian Project Peace Award presented in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The award was accompanied by a grant to continue research on the Underground Railroad. Also, he received the 1996 Appreciation Award for preserving cultural heritage from the Rowan County Historical Society. He also served as the coordinator of the Bi-National Underground Railroad Field Study for Parks Canada and the United States National Park Service for the Washington and Maysville, Kentucky, and the Ripley, Ohio, areas. (http://www.blackvoicenews.com/ugr/ugr_1999/participants/jerry_gore.html).

Dr. Clarendia M. Phillips is currently the Department Chair of Sociology, Social Work, and Criminology and an Associate Professor of Sociology at Morehead State University in Morehead, KY. She is a native of Terre Haute, Indiana and received her bachelor's degree in sociology from DePauw University and a master's of divinity from Asbury Theological Seminary. Dr. Phillips attended the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign where she earned both her Master's Degree and Ph.D. in sociology. Strongly interested in improving the lives of young African Americans, she worked for several years in Washington, D.C. evaluating education and youth development programs. Dr. Phillips joined the faculty at Morehead State University in 2000, and she has served as an Assistant Provost and the Director of the Interdisciplinary Women's Studies Program. Her research seeks to illuminate the social factors that contribute to the resilience of African Americans, especially African American women, with an emphasis on social support networks and religiousness. She has published several articles and is the co-editor of "African American Fraternities and Sororities: The Legacy and the Vision."

A specific number of interviewees was not set prior to the onset of this study; instead, attempts were made to locate all of those who worked, or are currently working as diversity officers. Although the intention was to interview all of the administrators at these institutions, past and present, some of the participants were unavailable due to death

and others were contacted and did not respond, or declined to participate. Even though it was not possible to interview every black administrator who serves or has served as a diversity officer, the wealth of information gained from the experiences of those interviewed provided an excellent starting point for exploring these positions.

Interviews.

The interviews were conducted during the summer and fall of 2008. A goal of the interviews was for the administrators to share stories full of rich descriptions and details about their experiences. The study participants candidly spoke about their experiences and provided notable examples to illustrate their stories. Once the administrators began sharing their stories, they would often discuss related issues and topics. At several junctions in the interview, the study participants would interrupt their story and apologize for speaking too much; however, they were encouraged to continue talking without any time constraints. These uninterrupted stories, resembling monologues, were crucial in understanding the diversity officers' experiences.

One suggestion for why the diversity officers were willing to share their stories at such great lengths could be because of their passion for their work with students of color. The wealth of information provided by the study participants could be that these diversity officers were finally provided an opportunity to share their stories. One diversity officer expressed his excitement about the study and noted that he had never been asked to share his experiences as an administrator. This same interviewee shared how important he felt this study was to the higher education community and to literature regarding higher education administration. The interviews were designed to have the administrators discuss their experiences while being mindful of the role that race has played. In analyzing the transcripts, I was mindful of their use of counterstories, as a way to learn more about participants' experiences and the intersection of race. As mentioned in the previous discussion on counterstories, the administrators were not convinced that they had been victims of institutional racism; instead, they were asked questions about their experiences that helped them consider how race might have played a role in their position as a black administrator at a predominantly white university. I did not use a prescribed technique or method to elicit counterstories from the participants. As I noted at the beginning of this chapter, not every experience of a person of color or socially

marginalized person should be categorized as a counterstory. Instead, I analyzed the experiences of the nine participants and determined whether or not I felt that they were telling a counterstory. My determination of what constituted a counterstory was based largely on how the diversity officers understood their experiences the intersection with majority culture. Based on Yosso's (2006) discussion of counterstories in chapter one, I thought of counterstories as an analytical tool in which I sought to understand the experiences of the diversity officers and how they resisted racism. This study was interested how the diversity officers' constructions of truth and reality, and based on those constructions, I analyzed their stories for ways that their truth was validated or refuted by majoritarian culture. Because a priority of this study was to allow the voices of diversity officers to be heard and their experiences on predominantly white campuses highlighted, their constructions of reality and truth was central to their stories. It was necessary to rely on their truths in order to tell a story that they authored and endorsed and not one that relied on the truths of others based solely on their history of dominance and oppression.

The semi-structured interviews were tape-recorded using a digital recorder and the interviews were guided by a list of unbiased, open-ended questions. Semi-structured interviews were used to elicit specific information from the respondents. According to Merriam (1988):

In the semistructured interview, certain information is desired from all the respondents. These interviews are guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored, but neither the exact wording nor the order of the questions is determined ahead of time. This format allows the researcher to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic. (p. 74)

A list of questions was prepared prior to each interview; however, depending on the responses to the questions, different follow-up questions were asked but the content of the original list of questions was similar. Probing questions were posed to allow for deeper reflections from the administrators. Hatch (2002) suggested using probing questions to elicit more elaboration from the participant, to redirect an interview, or to communicate the type of detailed information the researcher seeks. The interviews began with questions related to how the diversity officers became interested in the position.

Other questions related to this larger inquiry included the responsibilities of the position, as well as changes in the responsibilities over time. The next set of questions focused on the role of race in the administrators' experiences. The questions related to race considered both interracial and intraracial relationships. Finally, the administrators were given an opportunity to share what attracts or attracted them to their positions. This question sought an understanding of what influenced the diversity officers' career paths (see Appendix B for interview guide).

Initially, each interviewee was asked to meet two times with the possibility of follow-up interviews in the future. Due to scheduling and time constraints, two of the participants agreed to complete the two-part interview in one session. The other seven participants were interviewed in two sessions, with the first session lasting approximately 60 minutes and the second interview lasting approximately 40 minutes. Interviews were transcribed after each meeting. Excerpts of the transcripts included within the body of this manuscript were edited for grammatical errors but the content of the interviews was not compromised. According to Hatch (2002), deciding how much raw data to include in the text is based on the researcher's discretion. Hatch contended:

My rule of thumb is that sufficient examples should be included to give the reader confidence that the researcher's assertions about the topic at hand are supported by his or her data....It does not mean including every incident in the data that is related to the phenomenon under close examination. It means selecting the right data excerpts in the right places and helping the reader see why they are the right examples to strengthen their understandings. (p. 225)

Adequate examples from the data were carefully selected based on their relevance to a particular discussion. The raw data were crucial for understanding the diversity officers' experiences and hearing their voices.

Data Analysis

Hatch (2002) stated, "Data analysis is a systematic search for meaning. It is a way to process qualitative data so that what has been learned can be communicated to others" (p. 148). Merriam (1988) suggested that the data analysis not be reserved for the last step of a study; instead, she argued that ongoing data analysis is necessary to keep the research focused. The analysis for this study began with the interviews and the follow-up and probing questions that were asked based on the administrators' responses, and Hatch

stated that this is data analysis at its most informal level. Ongoing analysis of the data was useful, particularly while conducting interviews. Because this study is exploratory, the administrators discussed issues and elaborated on some topics more than others. Also, other issues that were initially thought to warrant extensive reflection and conversation did not. The ongoing analysis during the data collection of interviews allowed me to refine the interview guide and explore topics that seemed to generate more discussion than previously anticipated during the preparation stage.

The data from the interviews were vast, but after reading and rereading the data and taking notes, the transcripts were coded and the data were thematically categorized. Merriam recommended using fewer numbers of categories in order to have a “greater level of abstraction” (p. 135). Early on in the formalized data analysis, there were several categories; however, I began to make connections between the categories and condensed the number. Of course, as Hatch argued, more data analysis of data is always possible; however, once I realized that I was able to answer the questions posed in this study, I was able to begin reporting the findings. The four themes that emerged were: reason for the position, tensions among the administrators, pigeonholing, and racial uplift. From the four themes, additional refinement of the data was completed and links across data were made, including the intersection of the data with critical race theory. The first emergent theme, the reason the positions were created, is discussed in the following chapter. A history of the positions and offices is provided, but first a discussion of Kentucky’s violation of a federal mandate and its possible implications as the context for the discussion of the individual campuses and their responses to the mandate.

Limitations

A concern of this study was that the memories of the retired administrators might be a limitation as it had been approximately 20 years since some of the administrators served as diversity officers and what they remember about the positions could have faded. According to Ritchie (2003):

Knowing that with age most people find it difficult to recall names and dates, oral historians conduct preparatory research to assist interviewees, give some context and structure to the dialogue through their questions, and mutually address any seeming misstatements and contradictions in the testimony. (p. 32)

Prior to the interviews, I visited the archives in preparation of my initial meeting with the diversity officers. My preparation for the interviews included reviewing the aforementioned archival documents to have a basic understanding of the history of the offices and some of the significant events, including changing names, responsibilities, and organizational structure. The preparation I did prior to the interviews was helpful throughout the interviews because it aided the administrators with information retrieval and prompted them to share additional pieces of information that they might have been unable to recall.

The other issue involving the memories of the administrators, primarily the retired ones or those not currently serving in diversity positions, was that current events, attitudes, and perceptions might influence their stories. Ritchie (2003) asserted that much like historians rewrite history to take into account recent events, people also do the same things with their experiences in an attempt to be more reflective of their past. Ritchie argued that “there is nothing invalidating about this reflectivity, so long as interviewers and researchers understand what is occurring and take it into account” (p. 33). To avoid experiences that seemed based mostly on the interviewers’ reflections, questions that placed the administrators’ positions in a historical context were asked to help reduce feelings of nostalgia that might have biased the actual, lived account. Ritchie recommended asking the interviewee to answer questions based on comparison of what happened then and what is happening now. This study should not be categorized as either an institutional history or a life history. It places an emphasis on the stories of diversity officers within these campus communities. Because this study is not purely an institutional history or life history, this could be considered a limitation by researchers or others seeking a historical account.

Difficult questions were posed to the interviewees to gain a better understanding of their experiences, but the interviewees were not intentionally harmed physically or mentally. Each participant’s right to confidentiality was explained and respected throughout the course of the study. Each participant signed a consent form approved by the University of Kentucky’s Institutional Review Board regarding their participation in the study (see Appendix C for consent forms). The participants were given an option to have their interviews deposited into the University of Kentucky Louie B. Nunn Center for

Oral History. Of the nine participants, Mr. Ricardo Nazario-Colón at WKU and Dr. Clarendia Phillips at MSU, signed the oral history release form. The other seven participants declined this request; therefore, their interviews may not be publicly archived. I discussed with each interviewee his or her right to discontinue participation at any time during the study. All of the participants chose to have their identity revealed for the writing of the dissertation, and because of their decision, pseudonyms are not used to recount their stories.

In the following chapters the experiences of the nine participants are shared. As the researcher, I understood the importance of providing a balance of the data. However, because some participants have more presence throughout this study, questions might arise suggesting that I was partial to particular individuals. As I began to place the participants' stories within the larger context of the study, and attempted to share a collective story filled with individual components, it was clear that some voices were included more than others. This admission does not reflect partiality on my part as the researcher. Instead, the participants who are most present throughout this study are those who have worked in minority affairs since the early days of the office, or have served in positions responsible for minority issues. One explanation as to why the aforementioned participants are more highlighted could be because of the vast amount of experience that they have gained from years of working in positions responsible for diversity.

Another explanation is that the tenure of some of the participants spans years and they were able to corroborate or refute archival information about the early positions and offices. Because the newer diversity officers come from broader professional backgrounds that started in other areas of higher education, their experience in a position solely responsible for diversity does not have the same length of tenure and so their experiences are different. Also, some people are more verbally expressive than others and this could explain why some participants seem more present throughout the study. Finally, discussions about race are still uncomfortable for many people. Despite the rapport that I established with the participants, some of them might have felt less comfortable discussing race with someone not considered a close confidant. Even though some participants' voices seem more present than the others, all of the individuals were important contributors to telling this story.

Validity and Reliability.

As the researcher, I was cognizant of both validity and reliability and how they were related to this study. Although validity and reliability are often associated with experimental studies, or quantitative studies, they are relevant in qualitative research, too. According to Merriam (1988), internal validity is study participants construct reality. Merriam argued “the qualitative researcher is interested in perspectives rather than truth per se...” (p. 167). Because the diversity officers shared and reflected on their experiences based on the reality they constructed, my role as the researcher was to present the diversity officers reality as they understood it. One way that I attempted to ensure internal validity in this study was by triangulation of the interviews and the aforementioned archival documents. The use of multiple sources, including interview transcripts, Board of Trustee minutes, and newspaper articles was necessary to help understand the context in which the diversity officers’ experiences were being constructed.

Merriam (1988) defined external validity as the ability to generalize the findings of one study to others. I used purposive sampling for this qualitative study, and the focus was on placed on generalizing the findings, but on understanding the particular experiences of diversity officers at the selected universities. The lack of generalizability of the findings could be considered a limitation. However, Merriam summarized Patton’s argument on qualitative research and he argued that it should “provide perspective rather than truth, empirical assessment of local decision makers’ theories of action rather than generation and verification of universal theories, and context-bound information rather than generalizations” (p. 175). Reliability with reference to research often refers to replicating a study to determine if it will yield similar results. Merriam asserted that reliability is difficult to consider in qualitative case studies because human behavior does not remain the same. According to Merriam’s discussion of reliability, qualitative research is interested in how people interpret and understand the world around them. Because of the various interpretations of the world, Merriam contended that it is difficult to have a traditional approach to reliability because the element of control is absent and it does not allow for exact replication. Despite the change in human behavior, Merriam suggested that one way to make case studies reliable would be through training and

practice and triangulation of data. Although validity and reliability issues are usually considered closely related to experimental designs, Merriam argued that they are relevant to research in education because of the insights that they provide for educators and researchers.

Chapter Three: Who's Good Will?

Like colleges and universities nationally, Kentucky's historically white institutions received pressure from black students to diversify faculty and staff and create black studies programs. In Kentucky, black students at the University of Louisville led the charge to increase blacks on campus with the establishment of the Office of Black Affairs in 1969 (Hardin, 1997). Following confrontational sit-ins waged by black students at the University of Louisville in the late 1960s, "the university responded by establishing a Pan-African Studies Department and hiring more black faculty and staff" (Hardin, 1997, p. 114). The push to make the commonwealth's institutions of higher education more racially diverse resulted from student protests and both federal and state legislation. A decade after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed the numbers of black full-time non-faculty professionals remained low statewide, as was the numbers of black students and faculty members on traditionally white campuses. In 1975, Morehead State University (MSU) employed 2.1% blacks in full-time non-faculty professional positions with the University of Louisville (U of L) reporting 3.7% and Western Kentucky University (WKU) 5% ("OCR Letter," 1982). By 1977, MSU's numbers decreased to 1.0%, whereas U of L and WKU both increased to 4.1% and 6.0 %, respectively. Unfortunately, Kentucky's public universities also showed low percentages of black student enrollment, in addition to the low percentages of black non-faculty professional positions.

In 1980, the total number of resident black students enrolled in undergraduate, graduate (master's and doctoral) and first professional degree programs at U of L was 1, 636; 850 at WKU; and 146 at MSU ("1980 Enrollments"). According to the 1981-1990 Information Digest published by the Kentucky Council on Higher Education, in the fall of 1981, white students were 89% of state-supported enrollment, blacks 7% (resident and nonresident), and "other" 4% ("Information Digest 1981-1990", 1991). Included in the "other" categories were: "Nonresident Alien, Asian or Pacific Islander, American Indian or Alaskan Native, and Hispanic" ("Information Digest 1981-1990", 1991, p.29). This discrepancy in enrollment is what resulted in Kentucky being in violation of federal legislation and the state being cited for operating a dual system of higher education.

In 1981, the OCR sanctioned Kentucky for continuing to operate a racially dual system of public higher education and insisted that they dismantle it (“OCR Letter”, 1982). As a result of the federal sanctions, state-supported institutions began working to increase the numbers of black students, faculty, and staff. One proven approach to increase the number of blacks on campuses was to create positions and offices dedicated to black students and faculty. Western Kentucky University and Morehead State University created similar minority affairs positions and offices in 1982 and 1984, respectively, in an attempt to attract more black students to their campuses (“WKU Board of Regents Minutes”, 1982; “MSU Budget Memo”, 1984). Hardin argued that the establishment of offices responsible for minority issues encouraged more black students to attend the white universities. More specifically, Hardin noted:

The increasing black presence at the University of Kentucky and the University of Louisville could be attributed to the creation of offices for minority affairs at both institutions. Although hampered by limited funding, both operations pushed their respective institutions to add black studies curricula and to recruit more black faculty, staff, and students. The four regional state universities hired token black faculty to complement the growing numbers of black students. (p. 116)

Before black students were able to attend predominantly white colleges and universities and have offices supporting their diverse needs, an infamous Kentucky legislation prevented their matriculation to both public and private institutions.

The Day Law, a 1904 Kentucky statute, targeted segregation of private schools in Kentucky, an omission of the 1866 amendment of the Kentucky constitution ruling segregation of public education legal (Hardin, 1984; “OCR Letter”, 1982). Although there was a challenge to the Day Law in 1949, more specifically, the University of Kentucky being ordered to allow blacks to attend graduate school because there was not a comparable graduate program at Kentucky State, the Day Law was not nullified based on that ruling (Hardin). In 1950, an amendment to the Day Law was introduced to the Kentucky legislative session (Hardin). The proposed amendment would permit institutions to accept all students to graduate, professional, or vocational programs without considering race. The amendment was passed, but it allowed the individual colleges and universities to determine if they wanted to integrate their campuses. After almost fifty years of the Day Law in Kentucky, making it unlawful “to maintain or operate any college, school or institution where persons of the white and negro races are

both received as pupils for instruction” (“OCR Letter”, 1982), some postsecondary institutions within the state slowly began dismantling their segregated system of higher education.

However, it was not until *Brown* that race became less of a factor hindering matriculation of black students to white campuses. *Brown* was supposed to end segregation in educational settings, especially, primary and secondary schools; many institutions of higher education acted slowly to integrate. After the Supreme Court handed down the *Brown* decision in May 1954, a second ruling was made in 1955. According to Bell (2004), the Supreme Court requested further arguments beyond those presented in the 1954 case and addressed how segregated education did not provide equal protection of the law based on the United States Constitution. The states that were operating segregated schools requested that the Supreme Court remand the cases to district courts; however, the NAACP, or the National Association for Colored People, demanded that segregation be abandoned immediately (Bell). The Supreme Court returned the cases to the district courts. Bell stated that the Supreme Court in *Brown II* anticipated a “prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance, with defendants carrying the burden of showing that requests for additional time are necessary in the public interest and consistent with good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date” (Bell, 2004, p. 18).

The Supreme Court encouraged public schools to begin to desegregate “with all deliberate speed” (Bell, 2004, p. 18). Hardin (1984) summarized Parrish, and argued that even after the second *Brown* decision, only a small amount of blacks enrolled at white colleges and universities in Kentucky. Hardin argued “The movement of Kentucky higher education toward desegregation quickly generated a de facto segregation of black students at Kentucky State and did not encourage more blacks to enroll at Kentucky’s white colleges and universities” (p. 112). Hardin’s assertion was supported when in the early 1980s, Kentucky, along with several states, as discussed in chapter one, was found in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, intended to end dual systems of public higher education (“OCR Letter”, 1982; Williams, 1988). Like other states found in violation of Title VI, Kentucky, created a desegregation plan as an attempt to alleviate its dual systems of education in public universities. The themes outlined by the Office of

Civil Rights for writing desegregation plans was adopted by Kentucky in their first desegregation plan and future iterations the plan. In the following section, The Commonwealth of Kentucky Higher Education Desegregation Plan is discussed, including specific commitments of the plan.

The Commonwealth of Kentucky Higher Education Desegregation Plan

After conducting a review of the twenty-one public institutions in Kentucky, the United States Department of Education's, formerly DHEW, Office of Civil Rights notified Governor John Y. Brown it had found Kentucky had violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The violation was due to Kentucky's failure to "eliminate the vestiges of its former de jure racially dual system of public higher education" ("OCR Letter," 1982). The OCR requested that the commonwealth submit "a statewide desegregation plan that will fully desegregate the Kentucky system of higher education" ("OCR Letter," 1982). The Desegregation Plan was to be submitted 60 days after the receipt of the original violation notice on January 15, 1981. The OCR provided criteria to aid in creating the plan and the plan was accepted on January 29, 1982, and implemented immediately. The Desegregation Plan consisted of the same three main components recommended by DHEW in 1978: Disestablishment of the Structure of the Dual System, Desegregation of Student Enrollment, and Desegregation of Faculties, Administrative Staffs, Nonacademic Personnel, and Governing Boards ("OCR Letter," 1982). Although Western Kentucky University and Morehead State University sought to respond to DHEW with new positions and offices, the University of Louisville's offices and positions predated the Desegregation Plan, which is detailed later in this chapter. The Desegregation Plan, a precursor to the Kentucky Plan, was implemented from 1982-1987. Kentucky was no longer required to continue reporting data to the OCR; however, the Council on Higher Education, authors of the Desegregation Plan, agreed that more work was needed to provide equal access to Kentucky public institutions of higher education ("Desegregation in the South," 2005).

The Council on Higher Education (CHE), now the Council on Postsecondary Education, realized that another plan was needed to address issues related to equal access and success as well as attain goals related to employment, retention, and graduation ("Desegregation in the South," 2005). The second plan, The Kentucky Plan for Equal

Opportunities in Higher Education 1990-1995 (The Kentucky Plan), was committed to increasing the number of Kentucky black residents enrolled in both undergraduate and graduate degree programs at Kentucky public colleges and universities. The Kentucky Plan included several commitments, including the following:

1. to increase the proportion of Kentucky resident African-American undergraduate students enrolled in higher education;
 2. to increase the retention of Kentucky resident African-American undergraduate students and the proportion of Kentucky resident African Americans who graduate to the proportion of White students who are retained and graduate;
 3. to increase the proportion of Kentucky resident African-American graduate students enrolled in higher education to the same level as the proportion of total students who are receive undergraduate degrees that are Kentucky resident African-American;
 4. to increase the number and proportion of African-American faculty and staff employed the institutions of higher education;
 5. to increase the number of Kentucky resident African-American applicants to enrollments in, and graduation from first professional programs in dentistry, law, and medicine, and
 6. to ensure African-American representation on the Council on Higher Education and on each Board of Trustees or Regents.
- (“KY Plan 1990-1995,” p. 2).

The Plan provided institutions the flexibility and freedom to develop strategies and implement programs that would allow them to meet objectives set forth by the CHE (“KY Plan 1997-2002”).

The Kentucky Plan for Equal Opportunities in Higher Education 1997-2002 (The Kentucky Plan 1997-2002), is the second edition of The Kentucky Plan, and a third version of The Desegregation Plan. The voluntary Kentucky Plan 1997-2002 was “developed in the context of a changing legal environment in which activities that have been used to promote affirmative action and equal opportunity, particularly minority preferences in admissions, financial aid, and employment have come under increasing court scrutiny” (“Desegregation in the South,” 2005, p. 4). As a result of the scrutiny, a new commitment was added to the aforementioned commitments laid out in The Kentucky Plan. The addition to the Kentucky Plan 1997-2002, asked colleges and universities to create and implement programs to help them achieve the established commitments. The objectives of this latest Kentucky Plan were similar to the previous two plans; however, there was more of an emphasis placed on retention and graduation of

Kentucky African-American students (“Partnership Agreement,” 1999). The Kentucky Plan 1997-2002 was monitored by CPE to ensure that Kentucky was in fact dismantling dual systems of higher education. In an attempt to continue efforts laid out in the Kentucky Desegregation Plan, universities realized the importance of providing a space for black students and created positions and offices responsible for supporting black students to aid in recruitment and retention efforts. In the following sections, a history of diversity officer positions and offices is provided and shows a correlation with when the Desegregation Plan was developed and implemented and when positions at both WKU and MSU were created. The U of L office and position predated the Desegregation Plan by more than ten years and U of L’s beginnings are chronicled in the next section, followed by WKU and MSU, respectively.

University of Louisville

The University of Louisville’s (U of L) Office of Black Affairs (OBA) dates back to the late 1960s. In March of 1969, members of the Black Student Union (BSU) submitted a proposal to the U of L administration requesting that more efforts be made to create a stronger black presence on campus (Filiatreau & De Martino, 1969). The members of the BSU requested a black studies program and the hiring of full-time recruiters, a librarian and an assistant librarian, and a director for African studies. BSU also demanded that U of L set aside 50% of scholarships for black students, amend admissions requirements, and create outreach programs between U of L and the city’s black community (Filiatreau & De Martino, 1969). The administration, under the direction of President Woodrow M. Strickler, agreed that more emphasis should be placed on recruiting blacks at different levels in the University’s structure and he felt that hiring a consultant for black affairs would be the place to begin (Filiatreau & De Martino, 1969).

On April 30, 1969, about a dozen members of the BSU, who were frustrated that points in their proposal were not being implemented, occupied President Strickler’s office for three hours (“U of L BSU Standoff Memo,” 1969). The students finally left the office after mediators, sent on behalf of the administration, sought to find a resolution. Before agreeing to vacate the office, the students asked the mediators to deliver two questions to President Strickler. The questions were: would they be granted amnesty and would they

be allowed to appoint the director of black studies. President Strickler, along with the mediators from the greater Louisville religious community, delivered the answers to the BSU occupants. Although the president agreed to the request for amnesty, he denied the students' request to appoint a director ("U of L BSU Standoff Memo," 1969; M. Aubespain & Peterson, 1969).

The day after the BSU students occupied President Strickler's office, the Dean of the College of Arts and Science's office was seized by eight students ("Office of Black Affairs," 1970). The police were called to remove the students and as a result of their actions, the students were dismissed from U of L and were convicted in Louisville Police Court. The eight students appealed to the University's Student Conduct and Appeals Committee. The Committee readmitted three of the students, with four more students allowed readmission in the fall of 1969 and January of 1970. The other student was not readmitted to U of L and attended another university ("Office of Black Affairs," 1970).

Despite the disciplinary hearings and the appeals to the Louisville Police Court, the University continued with their decision to appoint a Director of Black Affairs. While the hearings and appeals for the students were taking place, U of L appointed Mr. Hanford Stafford as the Interim Coordinator of the Black Studies program in May of 1969 ("Office of Black Affairs," 1970; Peterson, 1969). Stafford's appointment was expected to last throughout the summer. At the time of his appointment, Stafford was a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Kentucky and had been a part time instructor at the University of Louisville for approximately a year ("Office of Black Affairs," 1970; Peterson, 1969). Stafford said that "he hope[d] to implement as a combination of demands the Black Student Union (BSU) presented Strickler in March and elements Strickler later endorsed" (Peterson, 1969). According to Stafford, he was supposed to:

Recruit black students, particularly those from needy areas. Recruit six or seven black faculty members. Raise money from private sources to finance the black affairs program. Find a permanent black affairs director and hire the nucleus of a program staff. Order material for an Afro-American room in the university's library. Initiate courses in black art and culture and Afro-American history. Set up the framework for a community outreach and tutorial programs in poverty areas. (Peterson, 1969)

Stafford also commented that U of L was increasing financial aid for black students. According to the 1969-1970 OBA bulletin, the “Office of Black Affairs assumes the responsibility for championing and protecting the interest of Black people, both within the University of Louisville and the Black community” (“Office of Black Affairs”, 1970). The philosophy of the OBA was similar to what was asked by the BSU in terms of serving the larger community, even though the organization did not formally endorse Stafford (Peterson, 1969).

In the summer of 1969, Stafford accepted the permanent position of Coordinator of the OBA, at least for the immediate future (“Office of Black Affairs,” 1969-70). Stafford was in the position for approximately two years before the next director, Mr. Charles R. Woodson, was hired (“Woodson”, 1971). Woodson served as the second Director of the OBA for approximately three years before Dr. Mitchell Payne was hired. Unfortunately, Stafford and Woodson were unable to be located for participation in the study; however, Payne, the third Director of the OBA from roughly 1974 to 1986, was able to provide information on the early days of the office (M. Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008). During Payne’s tenure as Director, OBA became the Office of Minority Affairs (OMA) in 1976 (“Office of Minority Affairs,” 1978). Payne’s responsibilities as Director were similar to Stafford’s in terms of the recruitment of black students and faculty and overseeing support services in the OMA. Interestingly, services for tutoring and counseling in the OMA geared towards black students became highly sought after by non-black students because of its success, eventually leading the University to remove those functions from the OMA (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008). According to Payne:

During my tenure we went from the Office of Black Affairs to the Office of Minority Affairs. As those name changes and things came into vogue, we also became the University’s go to unit for support services for all students. I think that’s when we hit the big time and started being able to ask central administration for more funding and not just for recruitment or social activities that dealt with the acclimation of black students on campus. At one time we had more white students in our tutoring and counseling program than we did black students. From a payroll standpoint, we had more non-black part time, faculty, staff, and students, undergraduate and graduate tutors than we did blacks. What had started out as a model with black mentors, black tutors, and black teachers was effective for the entire campus. Once non-students of color realized, these folks aren’t going to hurt us or these folks aren’t going to eat us or whatever, they have something, a

product that will enhance my experience here. I think at that point certain segments of the University began to take note and to say ‘they’re performing a university-wide function, that doesn’t really look good on our behalf with the kind of budget that they have.’ And so folks started thinking about it and whether or not that span of control possibly needed to be looked at and changed. (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008)

The removal of support services such as tutoring and counseling were not the only restructuring taking place in the office, a new position was created to further the progress of the OMA.

When the OBA was first created at U of L, there was a director of the office, but it was not until 1976 that Dr. Joseph McMillan was hired as the first Assistant Vice President for Minority Affairs to oversee the operations of the OMA (Runyon, 1976). Unfortunately, McMillan was not included in the study because he did not respond to the invitation to participate. However, Payne was able to provide some information about McMillan’s position in relation to his while he served as the Director, and archival documents provide additional information. In an interview with the *Courier Journal* on his new position, McMillan stated that he was interested in not only recruiting black students to U of L, but also helping them graduate (Runyon, 1976). McMillan noted that by creating and implementing certain counseling programs for these students, they would achieve academic success at U of L. Another concern expressed by McMillan in his new position was the need to increase the presence of blacks in fields besides education and social science, fields where they were often represented (Runyon, 1976). In 1986 McMillan transitioned back to the classroom and Payne left as Director of the OMA (Payne, personal communication, October, 6, 2008). Payne’s position was combined with McMillan’s Assistant Vice President of the OMA and a new position was created (Fitzpatrick, personal communication, October 7, 2008).

The new position, Special Assistant to the President for Affirmative Action, was filled by Dr. Ralph Fitzpatrick; and, since the director’s position was eliminated, the OMA staff reported directly to him (Fitzpatrick, personal communication, October 7, 2008). As the Special Assistant to the President for Affirmative Action, Fitzpatrick said “...primarily our role as an office during my tenure, we were more responsible for what I consider to be programming...” (Fitzpatrick, personal communication, October 7,

2008). Recruitment, financial aid, counseling, and tutoring services were removed from the OMA which allowed the office to devote the majority of their time to programming for students. However, like the directors in the past, Fitzpatrick in his new capacity, also was involved with faculty recruitment. Although the responsibilities had changed in terms of direct involvement from when Payne served as director and when Fitzpatrick served as Special Assistant to the President, it was clear that it was still necessary to have someone outside of the academic departments advocating for the hiring of black faculty. When Payne served as Director, the involvement by the OMA was active and direct because the academic departments would often express difficulty finding black faculty candidates (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008). Payne stated that the OMA staff responded by attending conferences sponsored by various black associations. Payne said:

So we were the ones going to the conferences and events wearing that hat, the national association of psychologists, CPAs. Even though we may not have known about the specific discipline because back in those days they were having those big conferences for the first time. People were spawning off all these disciplines from a black perspective and so we were going to those events carrying our U of L banner. (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008)

According to Payne, during his tenure as Director of the OMA, black faculty sought out such offices as a way to measure an institution's commitment to the needs of the black community. Payne admitted that it is now nice to see recruitment of black faculty as the responsibility of the entire University, but he wondered what role offices like the OMA could still play in attracting black faculty to campus (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008). Unlike Payne and the OMA staff, Fitzpatrick was not as directly involved with the recruitment of faculty. Instead, Fitzpatrick said, "my job was to make sure we were making progress towards those numbers that had been set up for us on the front end at the Council on Postsecondary Education..." (Fitzpatrick, personal communication, October 7, 2008). Fitzpatrick noted that he, along with members of the OMA staff, were invited to participate on search committees. However, he did not have a responsibility to staff the search committees.

Fitzpatrick served as the assistant to the President until approximately 2001 when Dr. Mordean Taylor-Archer was hired by U of L with a similar position and a new title, the Vice Provost for Diversity and Equal Opportunity (Fitzpatrick, personal

communication, October 7, 2008; “Provost Diversity,” 2007). Taylor-Archer was invited to participate in this study but declined. According to the U of L website, as the Vice Provost for Diversity and Equal Opportunity, Taylor-Archer is responsible for:

providing leadership for diversity initiatives throughout the university campus; developing institutional policies and procedures for improving and strengthening the university's efforts in promoting diversity; working with undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs to increase diversity among students, faculty, and staff; responding to the educational needs and providing relevant services to students of color, especially African American students; providing executive oversight over all programs administered by the Cultural Center, the International Center, the Women's Center, Office of LGBT Services and the Muhammad Ali Institute; representing the university on issues regarding diversity and equal opportunity before government agencies; and engaging in collaborative initiatives affecting the minority community in Louisville and throughout the state. (“Provost Diversity,” 2007)

Taylor-Archer is responsible for other units at U of L besides the Cultural Center. Although I was unable to interview McMillan, Payne was asked if any other units reported to McMillan when he served in the position and Payne could not recall if there were any formal reporting responsibilities from other units (Payne, personal communication, October 7, 2008). Based on archival research, including an interview from the *Courier Journal* announcing the hiring of McMillan, it appears that the OMA was the only unit that reported to him. Fitzpatrick did not have any additional units reporting to him when he served and to date, Taylor-Archer is the only administrator serving in that capacity that has had other units reporting to her position.

Approximately a year after Taylor-Archer assumed her new responsibilities, the OMA became known as the Multicultural Academic Enhancement Program (MAEP), and Mr. Ed Laster was hired as the Director in 2002 (Laster, personal communication, October 7, 2008). As the director of the MAEP, Laster was responsible for programming and providing spaces for the minority recognized student organization groups to meet. Under Laster’s direction, the MAEP continued the tradition of publications, including newsletters and added a website to better serve students who were becoming increasingly technologically savvy (Laster, personal communication, October 7, 2008). In the spring of 2008, the MAEP underwent another name change and the office was restructured. The MAEP is now known as the Cultural Center and Laster was replaced by a new director, Mr. Michael D. Anthony. According to Laster, there had been some discussions with

Taylor-Archer about changing and reorganizing the MAEP. Due to budget cuts and external pressure, the MAEP and the staff were “ripped and ask to get out of the building, reduction enforced” (Laster, personal communication, October 7, 2008). Laster was asked to elaborate on the external pressure that lead to the MAEP’s closure, but he said that the only external pressure he could speak of was the budget. Laster mentioned the budget as being an obstacle with regards to the constant pressure placed on the staff in the MAEP to create and implement new services and programs.

The Cultural Center now serves as the office on campus charged with aiding the U of L community on diversity initiatives. The Cultural Center “is to offer and facilitate cultural education and programming to the University of Louisville community” (“Cultural Center”, 2008). Also, the Cultural Center’s mission is to “advocate for under-represented student populations; celebrate the diverse cultures of the campus community; engage students in social justice issues; and support the academic success and retention of U of L students” (“Cultural Center,” 2008). Like the early Office of Black Affairs and Office of Minority Affairs, the Cultural Center serves as an advocate for underrepresented students and is dedicated to the success of its students by offering programs to support them. Anthony was invited to participate in the study but he did not respond to the requests.

To summarize, U of L created their OBA in the late 1960s in response to student protests and not external pressure from governmental policies. A few years after the office was created, an Assistant Vice President of Minority Affairs position was appointed to oversee the operations of the office. This move to establish a leadership position was as cutting edge as the office itself, one of the first in the region. Like most offices, the OBA at U of L has undergone several name changes since its inception in 1969. Despite the numerous name changes, the office has remained dedicated to serving and meeting the needs of students of color. Table 3.1 provides the historic progression of U of L’s positions and offices responsible for diversity efforts.

Table 3.1 University of Louisville

Office Name	Dates of Existence	Administrator, Title, and Dates of Service
Office of Black Affairs (OBA)	1969-1976	Mr. Hanford Stafford, Interim Coordinator, Coordinator (1969-1971); Mr. Charles Woodson, Director (1971-1974); Dr. Mitchell Payne, Director (1974-1976)
Office of Minority Affairs (OMA)	1976-2002	Dr. Mitchell Payne, Director (1976-1986); Dr. Joseph McMillan, Assistant Vice President for Minority Affairs (1976- 1986); Dr. Ralph Fitzpatrick, Special Assistant to the President for Affirmative Action (1986-2001)
Multicultural Academic Enhancement Program (MAEP)	2002-2008	Mr. Ed Laster, Director (2002-2008); Dr. Mordean Taylor- Archer, Vice Provost for Diversity and Equal Opportunity (2001-2008)

Table 3.2 University of Louisville (continued)

Office Name	Dates of Existence	Administrator, Title, and Dates of Service
Cultural Center	2008-present	Mr. Michael Anthony, Director (2008-present); Dr. Mordean Taylor- Archer, Vice Provost for Diversity and Equal Opportunity

Western Kentucky University

At Western Kentucky University (WKU), the decision to create a position responsible for the recruitment and retention of black students was made in 1982 (“WKU Board of Regents Minutes,” 1982). This position predated an office devoted to minority recruitment and retention by four years. The creation of this position appeared to be a direct response to Kentucky’s Title VI violation handed down by the Office of Civil Rights in 1981. Ms. Shirley Malone was appointed as Staff Assistant in the Office of Scholastic Development responsible for recruiting black students to WKU and helping those same students achieve academic success in the classroom (E. Aubespain, 1987). Malone was promoted to Director of Scholastic Activities in 1986 (“Jones,” 1987). The directors’ position was charged with “coordinating activities and services with almost all units in the broad areas of Academic Affairs and Student Affairs, and certain units in the broad areas of Business Affairs” (“WKU Desegregation Plan,” 1986, p. 4). Malone left shortly after her promotion and although she was invited to participate in the study, she did not respond to the invitation.

Even though WKU appointed Malone to recruit, the administration wanted to have a person in a position whose responsibilities were focused exclusively on recruiting and not split between recruitment and retention activities. In December of 1986, Ms. Phyllis Gatewood was offered a position to become WKU’s first Minority Recruitment Specialist (Bricking, 1990). The Minority Recruitment Specialist position worked closely with the Office of Enrollment Management on existing programs and creating new ones (“WKU Desegregation Plan,” 1986). According to the Vice President for Student Affairs, at that time, the position was created to assist the University with recruiting more black students (Schlagenhauf, 1987). Mr. Howard Bailey, former Dean of Students and current Vice President of Student Affairs, insisted that WKU had always been successful at attracting black students to its campus but when the Kentucky Plan was implemented, they began to compete with the other state-supported universities for black students and faculty. In discussing why WKU created an Office of Black Student Recruitment and Retention in 1986, Bailey asserted:

Western historically always had very good numbers and good graduation rates for blacks. When the Kentucky Plan was established in the 1980s, it was primarily

established as a reaction to the very poor graduation, enrollment, retention, and graduation rates at UK, U of L, Murray, and to some degree Northern Kentucky, Northern was not a big player at the time. Those schools had some significant issues in terms of not being able to recruit black students. Western decided that an office was needed as a counter reaction to those schools that started putting significant amounts of money into scholarships earmarked for African American students. There are only so many African Americans going to college in the state of Kentucky and what was happening was all of a sudden these schools that were being chastised for their poor performance started becoming very aggressive and moving in and recruiting African American students and Western did it as a reaction as much as anything. (Bailey, personal communication, September 10, 2008)

WKU experienced increases in their black student enrollment in the late 1960s and mid 1970s (“Final Report Task Force,” 1992). In 1969 black students were 3.9 percent of the student body and that number increased to 7.3% by the fall semester of 1976. Although WKU experienced increases in their black student enrollment, those numbers began to decline in the 1980s. Bailey’s assessment of the reason for the creation of a position and subsequently an office, appeared accurate given the timeline of the Kentucky Plan and the pressure placed on the public universities to increase the number of black students, faculty, and staff on their campuses.

Ms. Della Elliot was hired in January of 1988 to replace Malone as the Director of Scholastic Activities for Minority Students (“WKU fills position,” 1988). According to Bailey, Elliot did not replace Malone, instead Elliot’s position was a newly created one (Bailey, personal communication, September 10, 2008). It was not clear from the archival documents when Elliot left WKU; however, Gatewood was promoted to Black Student Retention Coordinator in 1990 (Bricking, 1990). Unsuccessful attempts to locate both Gatewood and Elliot were made and they are not participants in this study. As a result, the history of their positions was based solely on archival documents and corroboration from Bailey, who was the Assistant Dean of Students and was part of the discussion to hire both Gatewood and Elliot. Bailey, not formally in a position solely responsible for diversity, but because of his tenure at WKU dating back to the 1970s, was a valuable source on the positions and the office in the early days.

Unfortunately, information on the departure date of Gatewood was also not available from the archival documents. From a final report task force on minority

recruitment and retention in 1992, Gatewood was listed as a committee member and the office was referred to as Minority Student Support Services (MSSS) (“Final Report Task Force,” 1992). The actual date when MSSS was created or any additional information was not available; however, based on WKU campus directories, MSSS was the name of the office in the early 1990s, more specifically, 1991 (Lynn Niedermeier, personal communication, November 2, 2007). Mr. C.J. Woods served as Director of MSSS until approximately 2007 (the exact date of departure was not available from archival documents, but it is assumed from a triangulation of data that it was approximately 2007). During Woods’s tenure as Director of MSSS, the name was changed to the Office of Diversity Programs (ODP) in 2001 (“Commemoration of WKU Integration,” 2006). Bailey was at WKU when the office was changed from the Office of Black Student Recruitment and Retention to MSSS, and eventually to ODP. The reason for the name changes, Bailey insisted, was one of appeasement and covert racism. Bailey asserted:

...the minority name was brought in because the president, at that time, whose sole orientation in higher education was from Ole Miss, was trying to deemphasize African Americans....The office name to minority was changed as much as anything as an appeasement to him. Then we went to diversity programs because those in the academic world went on the attack that the office was only serving African American students and there are great numbers of other students of color who don’t feel comfortable in that office. I’m still trying to find that student that they were talking about. But again, those are code words and that’s covert attacks as I see it, and I’ve been in this profession now 38 years, those are covert attacks on the office. (Bailey, personal communication, September 10, 2008)

Although the office underwent several name changes, according to the current director, Mr. Ricardo Nazario-Cólon, the programming of the office remained unchanged until he was hired in the spring of 2007 (Nazario-Cólon, personal communication, September 4, 2008).

Nazario-Cólon noted that once he began reviewing the programming of the ODP from the previous years, he realized that the name had changed but the programming had not. Nazario-Cólon stated:

My office changed its names because it was the ‘in’ thing to do and that is not a slight on the former director or anything like that. This sort of thing is happening across the country, the first thing they did was a cosmetic change, let’s change the name. In arriving here, I noticed it was the Office of Diversity Programs but when I looked at the programs it was the same programs that had been done in

that office since 1985 or '84 when the office was established. So, nothing about the programming changed except for the name of the office and that's a symptom of people not thinking things through in terms of what are we going to do, what are the implications and asking the right questions. (Nazario-Cólon, personal communication, September 4, 2008)

Along with his responsibilities to support diversity at WKU through resources and campus-wide activities, Nazario-Cólon asserted that amending the programming of the past was important to him. Instead of programming in boxes, Nazario-Cólon said that it was necessary for him to begin to ask his staff to think about campus activities based on four pillars: diversity, social justice, intellectual growth, and leadership. Instead of the office name change being a cosmetic one, Nazario-Cólon wanted the staff in the ODP to break the trend set forth at other universities around the country, and actually have the programs reflect the name change (Nazario-Cólon, personal communication, September 4, 2008).

The renaming of the office was not the only change; in 2008, the ODP was placed under the supervision of Dr. Richard C. Miller, the newly hired Chief Diversity Officer. Miller came to WKU in 2006 as the Associate Vice President of Academic Affairs (Miller, personal communication, September 10, 2008). Before the diversity officer position, in 2000, WKU appointed Dr. John Hardin as the Assistant to the Provost for Diversity Enhancement ("Commemoration of WKU Integration," 2006). Hardin did not respond to requests to participate in this study, and so information regarding conversations to create the position and his responsibilities were not obtained. Miller was appointed as the diversity officer by the president of WKU, after serving in his previous position for two years. The decision to appoint Miller was based on conversations from faculty based committees and their interest in promoting diversity among students, faculty, and staff. One of the suggestions of these committees was to appoint a diversity officer who reported directly to the president, eventually resulting in the appointment of Miller (Miller, personal communication, September 10, 2008). As the Chief Diversity Officer at WKU, Miller oversees the ODP and the equal opportunity/ADA office and makes sure that the faculty applicant pools are diverse and that qualified applicants are sought for the positions and subsequently interviewed and possibly hired. Miller is also responsible for making sure that WKU adheres to the objectives set forth by the Council

on Postsecondary Education. One of Miller's most challenging responsibilities, as he sees it, will be to get people to think of diversity beyond race and that could largely be a result of the definition established in the Kentucky Plan. Miller said:

In Kentucky, as you know, the Kentucky Plan is a race-based plan and it was only African American race-based, and Kentucky African American race-based. Part of my responsibility is to move us to a broader understanding and definition of diversity as an institution and to engage a much broader segment of our population including racial, ethnic, religion, gender and all of those variables that fall under the diversity umbrella. (Miller, personal communication, September 10, 2008)

Miller's challenge to move WKU's definition beyond the traditional black/white dichotomy to one that is more inclusive of all racial groups and also gender and religion is consistent with the conversations that were taking place when the name of the Minority Student Support Services was changed to the Office of Diversity Programs.

To summarize, WKU created its first position responsible for minority recruitment and retention after the OCR sanctioned Kentucky. The new position, staff assistant in the Office of Scholastic Development was housed in academic affairs and went from an assistant director's position to a director's position. Several years later, WKU's administration decided that two positions were needed with one person solely responsible for recruitment and the other person responsible for student retention. After the director resigned from the position, a replacement was made and the new hire, along with the recruitment specialist, were housed in student affairs. Like U of L, WKU's office has undergone several changes throughout the years, and the appointment of the institutions first diversity officer in 2008 is similar to the nationwide trend on many campuses. With the appointment of the diversity officer, ODP was moved from the student affairs division to academic affairs. The changes in the position title and office names of diversity offices are shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.3 Western Kentucky University

Office Name	Dates of Existence	Administrator, Title, and Dates of Service
Office of Scholastic Development	1982-1986	Ms. Shirley Malone, Staff Assistant, Director (1982-1986)
Office of Black Student Recruitment and Retention	1986-1991	Ms. Phyllis Gatewood, Recruiter, Coordinator (1986-1990); Ms. Della Elliot, Director of Scholastic Activities for Minority Students (1988-departure date unknown)
Minority Student Support Services (MSSS)	1991-2001	Mr. C. J. Woods, Director (1991-2001)
Office of Diversity Programs (ODP)	2001-present	Mr. C. J. Woods, Director (2001-2007); Mr. Ricardo Nazario-Cólon, Director (2007-present); Dr. Richard Miller, Diversity Officer (2008-present)

Morehead State University

Morehead State University's (MSU) first Director of the Office of Minority Affairs (OMA), Mr. Jerry Gore, was hired in 1985 (Gore, personal communication, August 4, 2008). When Gore was being courted for the position, he was unaware that MSU was creating the office to show the Kentucky Council on Higher Education that they were making an effort to increase the minority presence, specifically blacks, on campus. Discussing the new position, Gore said:

...it wasn't on the good will of the University to move forward. No, they were responding to federal legislation, and at that point, believe it or not, when they were talking with me I had no clue that all of that was going on. (Gore, personal communication, August 4, 2008)

Gore was not aware of the pressures placed on MSU to increase blacks on campus until he was offered the position a second time. His feeling that MSU was not interested in an office devoted to the needs of black students was based on the school's early discussions of the new position and the underlying motive to create such a position.

Prior to Gore being named the Director of the OMA, Mr. Glenn Jones was hired as the Minority Affairs Advisor in the fall of 1984 ("Budget Memo," 1984). According to Gore, as the Minority Affairs Advisor, Jones had a small budget and inadequate office space to serve the needs of students (Gore, personal communication, August 4, 2008). Jones was only in the position for a year before accepting a job as a member of the MSU football coaching staff ("Jerry Gore Selected," 1985). After Jones left, the position was changed from Minority Affairs Advisor to Minority Affairs Director and Gore accepted these new responsibilities (Gore, personal communication, August 4, 2008). Attempts were made to locate Jones for the study, but unfortunately, he could not be found.

Gore was offered the position when the administration initially began its search for a director, but declined the offer on two separate occasions because of the lack of resources that MSU was willing to channel into the office. When Gore was asked to consider a position in the Office of Minority Affairs, he recalled that he asked the administration two questions: what kind of budget would be allocated to the office; and, what would be his full time position since he was already a counselor in the University counseling center and a residence hall director. When Gore was told that he would be expected to continue his current full time responsibilities in addition to assuming formal

responsibilities for minority affairs, Gore declined the offer (Gore, personal communication, August 4, 2008).

When the president again approached Gore about the position, he once again inquired about the budget, office space, and salary (Gore, personal communication, August 4, 2008). Even though the salary was lower than Gore would have preferred, he accepted the position and served as the Director from 1985 until 1998. Gore's responsibilities were primarily centered on student recruitment and retention activities including, traveling to local and regional communities to give presentations and workshops, counseling students on a variety of concerns ranging from personal problems to academic development, establishing partnerships with communities throughout Kentucky, and grant writing ("Salary Increase Memo," 1988). Under Gore's leadership, the OMA did not have a formal responsibility for faculty recruitment. According to Gore:

If there was a new black faculty/staff person looking at the institution in most cases those departments would contact me and ask me if I could meet with that person. I'd give the candidates good insight and I was always very candid with them about the reality of Morehead. There were some who chose to come because of what I said and there were some who chose not to but as far as a formal responsibility, no I did not have a formal responsibility for faculty recruitment. (Gore, personal communication, August 4, 2008)

Although Gore and the OMA were not formally involved in the recruitment of black faculty, Gore noted that the OMA organized a group for black faculty, graduate students, and staff which served as a support system for blacks at MSU.

After Gore retired in 1998, Dr. Francene Botts-Butler was hired as the Director of the Office of Multicultural Student Services (OMSS), formerly known as the Office of Minority Affairs. Prior to assuming her new responsibilities as Director of the OMSS, Botts-Butler served as the Director of Human Resources at MSU (Botts-Butler, personal communication, August 5, 2008). As the Director of Human Resources, Botts-Butler inherited affirmative action responsibilities in 1997 on an interim basis until June of 2008. Prior to Botts-Butler's responsibility for affirmative action, MSU had an Affirmative Action Director, who accepted a fellowship elsewhere; instead, of filling the vacant position, the responsibilities were merged into Director of Human Resources. When Botts-Butler became the Director of the OMSS, she still served as the interim

person responsible for affirmative action and her job was divided 85% of the time with the OMSS, and 15% of the time with affirmative action. She reported to the President on issues related to affirmative action and to the Vice President for Student Life as the Director of the OMSS. The mission of the OMSS is:

to work with multicultural students and international students on their personal, vocational, academic, interpersonal, and if necessary their spiritual aspects of their attendance here at Morehead State University. And to also work with the students programming that are attractive to the students of color, different programs and so in that respect we do a lot for all of the different recognition months, weeks, what have you. (Botts-Butler, personal communication, August 5, 2008; "OMSS Job Summary," 2008)

Much like when Gore was the Director, Botts-Butler, continues to place emphasis on the retention of students of color, a primary function of OMSS. As Director, one of Botts-Butler's responsibilities is to work with other members of the MSU community, including the minority teacher education program and the minority retention specialist, on the University's retention goals ("OMSS Job Summary, 2008").

Even though the functions of the office remained very similar from the time it was created in 1985, the name was changed in 1998. According to Botts-Butler, the name change from minority to multicultural was due to the negative connotations that were often associated with the word minority. With affirmative action and programs related to race continually being attacked in our judicial arenas, Botts-Butler asserted that the name change was an attempt by MSU to refer to minorities in a way that was more acceptable to the majority (Botts-Butler, personal communication, August 5, 2008). In the spring of 2008, the OMSS underwent restructuring. At the time of the interviews, Botts-Butler was relieved of all affirmative action responsibilities, the OMSS no longer had a coordinator, and the administrative assistant for the OMSS was reassigned to another office on campus. Also, at the time of the interview, with Botts-Butler did not supervise any staff members and was the sole person in the OMSS.

In 2004, MSU created a new position responsible for diversity. The position, Assistant Provost for Diversity, reported to the academic provost and similar to the creation of the Director of the OMA, the Assistant Provost position was a response to external pressures. According to Dr. Clarenda Phillips, the first Assistant Provost for Diversity, "I think we can always point to external reasons, meaning the Council on

Postsecondary Education says we need to be making improvements in the recruitment and retention of faculty, staff, and students” (Phillips, personal communication, August 14, 2008). Phillips also noted that the creation of her position was a combination of other circumstances, including members of the MSU administration wanting to make their University a different place and this was evident in the diversity plan put forth in 2004.

Along with the administration’s plans to move forward, several students had voiced their concerns regarding negative experiences at MSU and the president at that time, took notice and said that something must be done (Phillips, personal communication, August 14, 2008). Although there was the OMSS, Phillips stated that the students chose to address the president because of a long standing feeling in higher education that academic affairs has more influence than student affairs. Phillips stated “the students felt like the Office of Multicultural Student Services didn’t have enough power to effect change” and the students’ concerns coupled with external pressures and to some degree internal pressures, led to the new position at MSU (personal communication, August 14, 2008).

When Phillips was asked if her position as Assistant Provost overlapped with the Director of the OMSS, Phillips did not think so, because her responsibilities were broader in scope than focus on student programming. As the Assistant Provost, Phillips was responsible for recruiting faculty of color and creating curricular changes that would support diverse course offerings (Phillips, personal communication, August 14, 2008). Phillips served as the Assistant Provost for Diversity for three years and as acting assistant during the fourth year, while MSU moved to replace the position with a chief diversity officer position. The decision to hire a chief diversity officer at MSU was an effort to alleviate the affirmative action officer position and reduce a duplication of services, from the provost’s perspective (Phillips, personal communication, August 14, 2008). Phillips noted that she did not necessarily agree with a merging of the positions because she thought that people might confuse diversity with compliance, but understood with lean budgets that it might be a more efficient approach. The national search for a diversity officer was opened in the fall of 2008 with an anticipated start date of January of 2009 (Phillips, personal communication, August 14, 2008). However, as of February

1, 2009, candidates were still being considered for the diversity officer position (“MSU DO Search,” 2009).

In summary, similar to WKU, MSU created an office responsible for minority affairs in the early 1980s as a response to federal and state legislation. The office at MSU, like offices of its kind across the country, has undergone several name changes intended to make the office more inclusive of all students of color. In 2004, MSU’s administration decided to create a position in academic affairs responsible for diversity and a faculty member was appointed the Assistant Provost for Diversity position. In 2008, MSU began a national search for a diversity officer to replace the Assistant Provost. The decision to hire a diversity officer is similar to that at WKU, and part of a national trend on many campuses to hire an expert for diversity initiatives. See Table 3.3 for a history of MSU’s positions and offices responsible for diversity.

Table 4.3 Morehead State University

Office Name	Dates of Existence	Administrator, Title, and Dates of Service
Office of Minority Affairs (OMA)	1984-1998	Mr. Glen Jones, Minority Affairs Advisor (1984-1985); Mr. Jerry Gore, Director (1985-1998)
Office of Multicultural Student Services (OMSS)	1998-present	Dr. Francene Botts-Butler, Director (1998-present); Dr. Clarendia Phillips, Assistant Provost for Diversity (2004-2008)

Unlike the University of Louisville's Office of Black Affairs and Office of Minority Affairs, offices at both Western Kentucky University and Morehead State University were the administrations' response to the federal desegregation plan that mandated Kentucky state-supported institutions increase the numbers of black students, faculty, and staff on their campuses. Regardless of the reasons the offices were created at WKU and MSU, from their early beginnings these offices were counterspaces where black students, as well as black faculty and staff, could go to feel a sense of support and community. These offices were also instrumental in the development of these students both academically and personally. With the introduction of the most recent diversity officers into the leadership structure, some diversity officers were skeptical of their new peers. In the next chapter, the excitement, frustration and tensions will be discussed in relation to the newly created diversity officer positions.

Chapter Four: United We Stand

As previously discussed, the appointment of high-level diversity officers on our nation's campuses redefined and shifted the range of administrative work for addressing race and diversity on campus. In this chapter, a discussion of the tensions and feelings of distrust among diversity officers are explored, including the Willie Lynch Syndrome, as a possible explanation for these feelings. A further exploration into intraracial politics and considerations are also examined with regards to the strain among the administrators. Also included in this chapter is a continuation of the discussion of tokenism from chapter one, and how Kanter's Theory of Proportional Representation attempts to explain work environments for tokens and the associated stressors. The chapter concludes with an examination of how diversity is realized within education, and what are the implications for such a token approach to diversity initiatives. This chapter is not a chronology like the previous chapter; instead, this chapter and the remaining chapter are thematic based on the collective narratives of the diversity officers.

As discussed in chapter three, the University of Louisville (U of L) was a pioneer in creating the Office of Black Affairs (OBA), with the hire of the first Assistant Vice President of Minority Affairs, McMillan. When McMillan was hired, Payne was the Director and he recalled how excited the staff was to have someone with McMillan's knowledge, experience, and expertise to lead the Office of Minority Affairs (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008). Payne commented:

Like I said, I was in my twenties and thirties; we were out to conquer the world so the more the better. Dr. McMillan's a strong black man, so it was not a question of where he lined up or where he represented the institution, he was all about the professional development of the staff. One of the things that was part of his reputation, and we got to see it first hand, was the large number of individuals that he took and has taken over the years, not just from the classroom, but has taken from clerical and administrative assistant positions to earn their doctorates. He has been an enabler everywhere he has been and that held true with us in our early days of that office and my affiliation with it. (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008)

Clearly, Payne's comments are evidence that the addition of McMillan to the OMA was welcomed by the staff, and McMillan's expertise was seen as an asset. However, the

addition of diversity officers at Morehead State University (MSU) and Western Kentucky University (WKU) were met with skepticism and questions.

Tensions Among Diversity Officers

In chapter three, the decision to appoint an Assistant Provost for Diversity, who would eventually be replaced with a diversity officer, at MSU was discussed. When MSU introduced the Assistant Provost position, a Director of the Office of Multicultural Student Services (OMSS), formerly the Office of Minority Affairs (OMA), had been in place since 1985. Unlike the OMA at U of L, which welcomed a supervisor to head the unit, there was skepticism by the Director of the OMSS, Botts-Butler, regarding the new Assistant Provost position. Botts-Butler referred to those in these newly created positions as the “Johnny come lately diversity experts” and noted that MSU was not the only campus making such changes but it appeared to be a national trend (Botts-Butler, personal communication, August 5, 2008). Gore also discussed the new administrators and what he thought their real intentions for holding executive level positions in diversity leadership meant. Gore commented that “many administrators today are not interested in change but advancing their careers, they are not even interested in keeping status quo, and they’re looking at taking care of themselves professionally with other higher ambitions” (Gore, personal communication, August 4, 2008). Bailey’s assessment of these diversity officers was similar to Gore, and suggested that in many cases the position was merely a stepping stone. Bailey commented:

...it becomes an issue between the two groups of African Americans when one group who has been in the trenches 15, 20 years is set aside or reassigned. And then someone comes in, usually from outside of the state, on a high, fast track career path and if they’re talking, diluting, and using pluralistic diversity, all the right code words, they get all of the attention. (Bailey, personal communication, September 10, 2008)

Questions regarding these administrators’ motives are indicative of the distrust and skepticism expressed by those who have worked in this field for more years than the newly appointed or hired diversity officers. These questions, whether valid or not, continue to further separate the two groups of administrators on these predominantly white campuses where they could serve as allies.

In addition to questions related to the diversity officers' career aspirations, there are questions about their credentials. Botts-Butler argued that requirements for newly hired diversity officers favoring a Ph.D. and a background in academic affairs strongly suggests that in order to gain support from one's institution and push an agenda for diversity forward, one must hail from academic affairs backgrounds. The notion of someone who holds a Ph.D. as being more desired for a diversity officer position arose from the belief in the ability of that diversity officer to influence curricular offerings. However, Botts-Butler insisted that the emphasis placed on curriculum, in addition to the other responsibilities of diversity officers, might have a negative impact on other areas, more specifically, hiring. Botts-Butler noted:

My thinking on the whole issue is that it is more palatable for administrators and faculty members to deal with somebody who has a Ph.D. Because if you have that person involved with the curriculum, etc., then they're not paying attention to whether or not they've hired anyone of color since 2006, or other issues related to federal compliance. So, my thinking is that by having somebody who is able to be on faculty and now responsible for compliance and hiring, you are watering down your commitment to diversity. (Botts-Butler, personal communication, August 5, 2008)

Because of Botts-Butler's previous experience as an Affirmative Action officer in a university setting, it is not surprising that she was concerned that compliance will suffer if it is attached to a growing list of responsibilities of diversity officers. It was Botts-Butler's opinion that diversity officers will be distracted because of the attention placed on curriculum, and as a result hiring and compliance will suffer. Although Botts-Butler did not provide evidence of her assertion, it was clear that she did not think the new generation of diversity officers would be able to advocate for people of color and adhere to legislation related to compliance, which was the charge of the early diversity officers. With the state-supported institutions in Kentucky expected to meet various objectives set forth by the Kentucky Council on Post Secondary Education, including increasing and maintaining the numbers of black faculty, Botts-Butler's assertion seems logical. With a person not solely responsible for affirmative action and equal opportunity policy, it is not difficult to think that continued progress might be stalled in the future.

Changing Credentials of Diversity Officers.

In the past, individuals working in minority affairs offices were usually sought because of their previous involvement working with black students within the university community, which was true with Gore. Gore was involved with recruiting and mentoring black students and founded the Black Gospel Ensemble. Because of his strong presence on campus he was one of the first people approached to assume formal responsibilities for minority affairs at MSU (Gore, personal communication, August 4, 2008). When Gore was approached for the position, there were not specified qualifications for it. Gore recalled being asked to write his own job description for his newly created position, a terminal degree was not required. Although McMillan held a Ph.D. when he was hired as the Assistant Vice President for Minority Affairs at U of L, many other administrators working in similar offices did not have the same credentials. It appeared from the interviews with diversity officers as well as the literature that not until recently had a Ph.D. become highly recommended for those working in executive level positions responsible for diversity. As discussed in chapter one, newly hired diversity officers argued that a doctorate should be required for diversity officers because of their new responsibilities with curriculum and policy. Members of the professoriate were the most suitable candidates for such positions because of their experience with curriculum and the insights they could provide to such discussions.

Whether or not a Ph.D. should be required for these recently created positions is debatable. It seems that in addition to the educational attainment of diversity officers, previous work experience would be an equally important consideration for filling new positions. However, as many universities began creating diversity officer positions and placing them in academic affairs, many who have been working on the front lines of the struggle for a more diverse campus are not likely contenders for new posts because they lack the recommended terminal degree. One administrator discussed learning that the university was seeking a diversity officer and the desired candidate for the position should have a Ph.D. The administrator interpreted the Ph.D. requirement as an attempt to keep the administrator from being able to apply for the new diversity officer position. That same administrator went on to say that changing the requirements for diversity officers was really intended to keep black administrators who had worked in minority

affairs offices for years from seeking executive level leadership positions in diversity. This administrator's rationale fails to consider the expertise and skills of diversity officers who have earned a Ph.D. Instead, the administrator viewed the Ph.D. as symbolic or a credential without utility to one's work as a diversity officer.

Tensions among diversity officers were evident during the conversations with the administrators. When Phillips, the Assistant Provost for Diversity at MSU, was asked if she was aware of tensions between the newly hired diversity officers and those who have worked in the area of diversity for several years, she hesitantly admitted that there were some. Phillips explained:

I think there is some tension and there are probably a couple of reasons for that. One is generally speaking, and people do it different ways at different institutions, but to be an assistant provost or in this case to be a chief diversity officer the desired degree is often a Ph.D., not always but often. And I think it probably goes back to well what makes you more qualified for the position or what makes somebody more qualified for the position just because they have a Ph.D.? I've been here and here you come and you've been given latitude, if you will, to change this place and all you have is a degree...I think there is sort of this tension between...why is it that this already existing office can't do that, why create this whole new position for someone. So, I think there is some of that. (Phillips, personal communication, August 14, 2008)

With the introduction of diversity officers to campuses where there were already offices and positions responsible for diversity, often there was a question as to why preexisting offices were not given the additional charge.

Positionality of Diversity Officers Within the Universities.

Academic affairs and student affairs are often seen as being on opposite ends of campus and this split is not specific to diversity offices. Kezar (2003) asserted that this division is due in part to "alienating and confusing jargon of differentiated professional fields, increased specialization, and the competition between these two groups" (p. 137). Because of the specialization of both academic and student affairs, Kezar argued that collaboration between the two groups is necessary. Kezar (2003) defined collaboration as "individuals and groups working together toward a common purpose, with equal voice and responsibility" (p. 138). According to Phillips, collaborations are often strained among black administrators when it appears that administrators on one side of campus have more influence than others. The tensions, as discussed by Phillips, Assistant

Provost for Diversity at MSU, in the preceding discussion, lead to divisions among the administrators on campus where one administrator is now seen as the expert on issues of diversity, replacing the administrator who has been in the position for several years. The divisions appear to be more recognizable when the new diversity officer is housed in academic affairs and given the respect that is absent for administrators working with diversity on the student affairs side of campus. However, not all offices responsible for diversity have origins in student affairs, including the Office of Black Affairs (OBA) at the University of Louisville (U of L). When the OBA was created in the spring of 1969, the Coordinator, Stafford reported to the Vice President for Academic Affairs (“Guidelines For the Interim Coordinator,” 1969). However, Stafford had a direct reporting line to the president on issues that were urgent and required immediate attention. During Payne’s tenure as the Director of the Office of Minority Affairs (OMA) at U of L, prior to the arrival of McMillan, Payne reported to the provost (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008). According to Payne, when McMillan was hired as the Assistant Vice President for Minority Affairs, the reporting line for the OMA did not change. McMillan had a reporting line in academic affairs and he said, “...it means that minority affairs have been given a priority by this university...It also says to me that they are trying to mainstream minority programs” (Runyon, 1976,). The organizational structure that U of L had in place in the OMA has only recently become the trend at most colleges and universities across the country.

Payne commented that the reporting line of the OMA in academic affairs made the office unique and was also one of the strengths of the office. He noted that when discussions were taking place to hire an Assistant Vice President for Minority Affairs, it was decided that hiring someone with academic credentials and a faculty background would be advantageous to the OMA. Payne believed that someone who was familiar with federal funding programs and research was an asset to the office in terms of pushing the agenda of the OMA forward (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008). Having a reporting line in academic affairs opposed to one in student affairs is a conversation that is common on many campuses. Payne noted that despite attempts made by the U of L’s administration to place the OMA in student affairs, members of the community advisory committee board fought against the move. Payne stated:

I think one of our uniqueness is that we have always had the academic reporting side and that was something we always fought for. Whereas other such offices and programs were on that student parallel side and I think the years when you look back at history that has contributed heavily to the survival and continuity of our program. (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008)

The reporting line changed in the mid 1980s when Fitzpatrick was hired as the Special Assistant to the President for Affirmative Action, the OMA then reported to the president.

When Fitzpatrick was asked by President Swaine to supervise the office, the reporting line changed from reporting to the Academic Provost to the President. According to Fitzpatrick, President Swaine hoped to strengthen the office by changing the reporting structure and having a direct relationship with the Director of the OMA (personal communication, October 7, 2008). At the time of Fitzpatrick's appointment, U of L's organizational structure did not have the traditional academic affairs and student affairs dichotomy. Instead, U of L was organized differently, including a division referred to as administrative or institutional support, where the OMA was situated during Fitzpatrick's tenure as Special Assistant to the President for Affirmative Action. Today, the Vice Provost for Diversity and Equal Opportunity reports to the Academic Provost, (Fitzpatrick, personal communication, October 7, 2008), as was the case in the early days of the OBA and the OMA; the Cultural Center also has been moved back to the academic affairs division. See Figures 1-3 for the organizational charts based on the history of the diversity officer positions and offices provided below.

Figure 1 University of Louisville (1969-1976; 1976-1986)

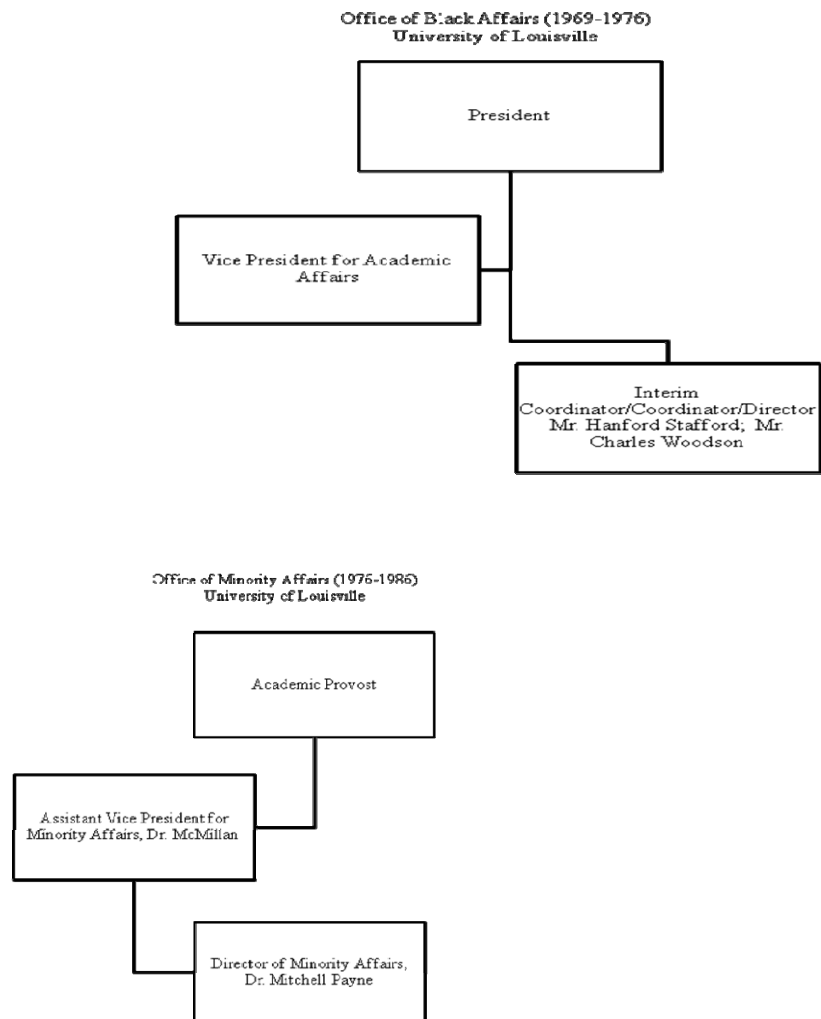


Figure 2 University of Louisville (1986-2001; 2002-2008)

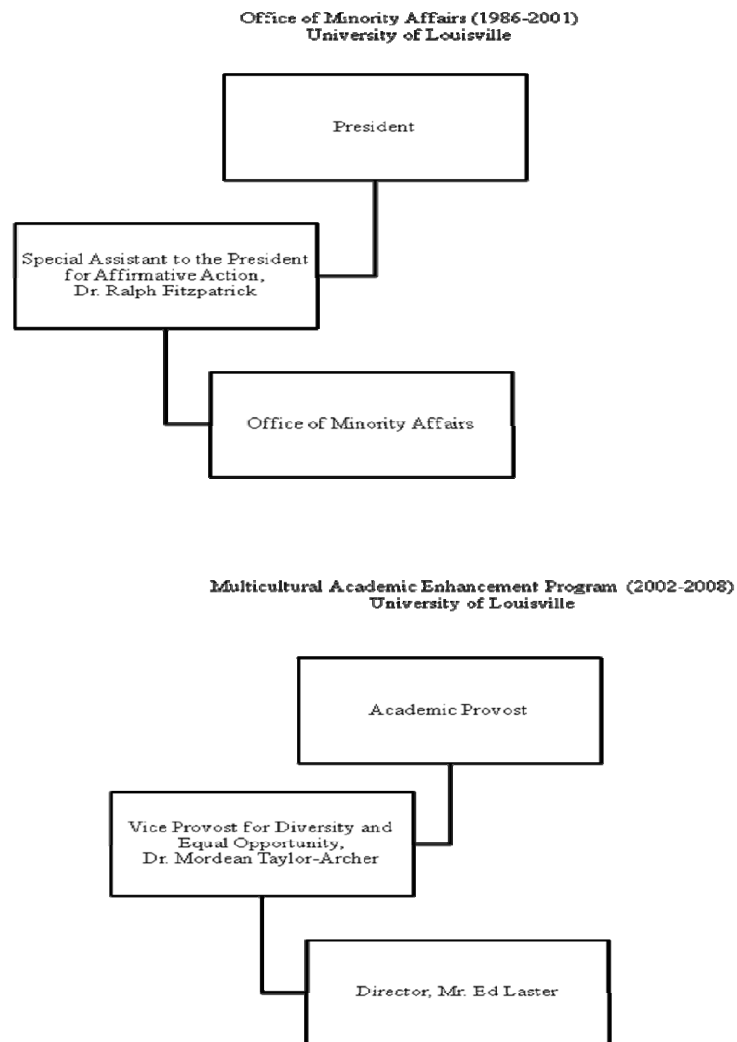
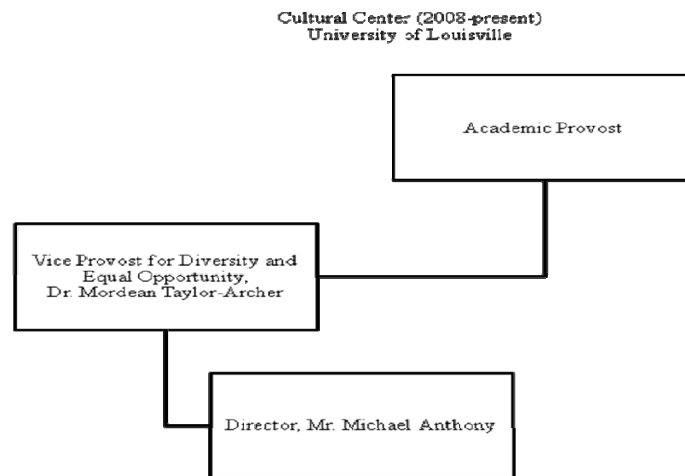


Figure 3 University of Louisville (2008-present)



When Western Kentucky University (WKU) first created a position responsible for working with minority students, Staff Assistant in the Office of Scholastic Development, the reporting line was in academic affairs (Bailey, personal communication, September 10, 2008). According to Bailey, after the Director of the Office of Scholastic Development vacated the leadership role in the late 1980s, the position was reorganized and moved to student affairs. The Office of Diversity Programs (ODP) was moved from student affairs to academic affairs when the new diversity officer was appointed in the spring of 2008 and the ODP now reports directly to the diversity officer position. When Bailey was asked about the move of the ODP and if any units should report to the diversity officer, Bailey answered that he did not think any offices should report to the position and asserted that the ODP should be under the student affairs umbrella where the student affairs professionals could concentrate on the development, leadership, and retention of students (Bailey, personal communications, September 10, 2008). Bailey thought that the primary responsibilities of the diversity officers should be diversifying the curriculum and faculty hiring and not student development. Organizational charts illustrating these positions and corresponding offices are provided in Figures 4-6.

Figure 4 Western Kentucky University (1982-1986; 1986-1991)

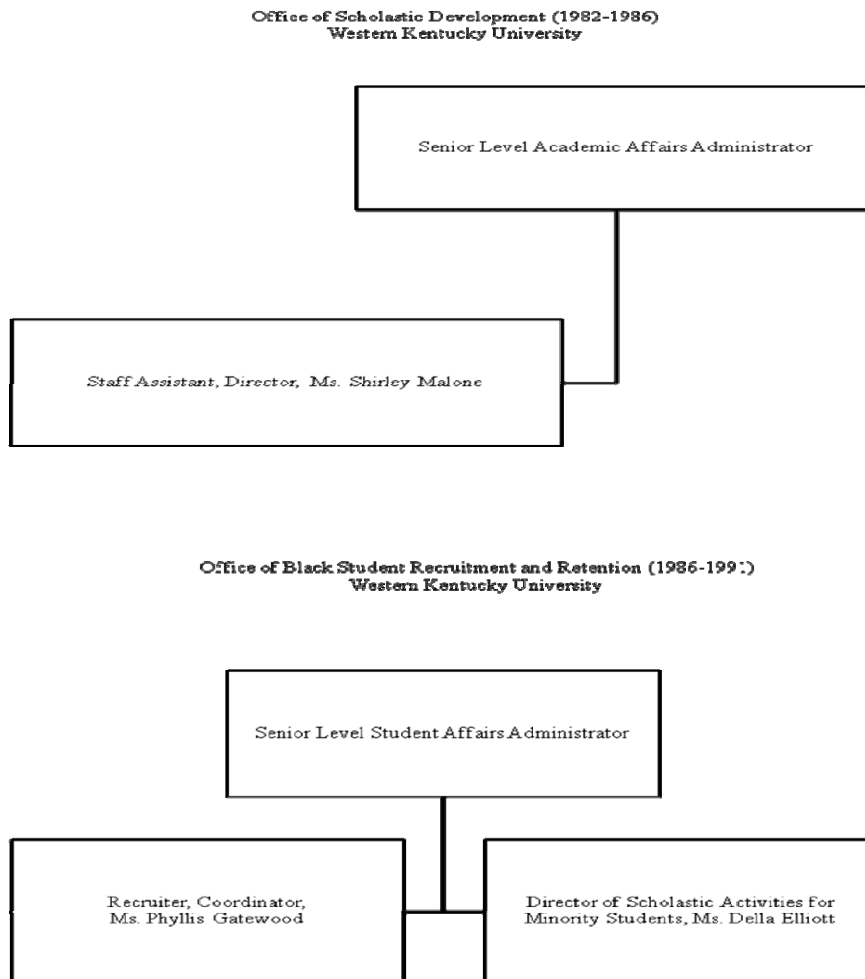


Figure 5 Western Kentucky University (1991-2001; 2001-2007)

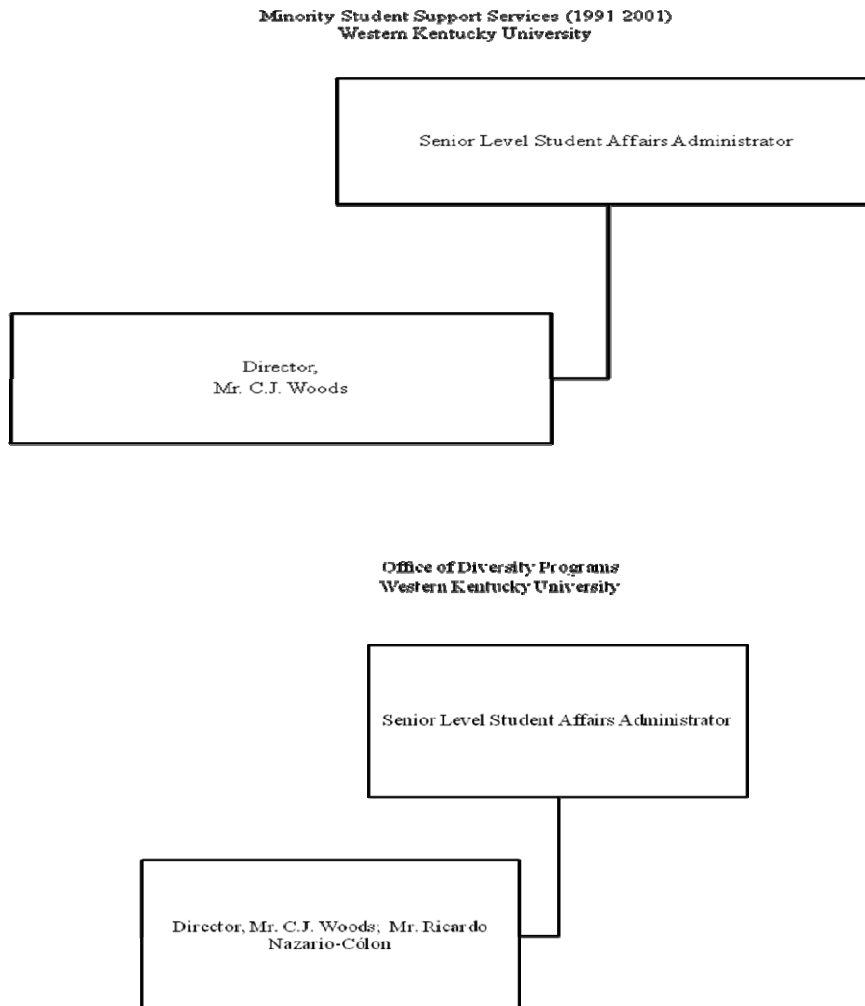
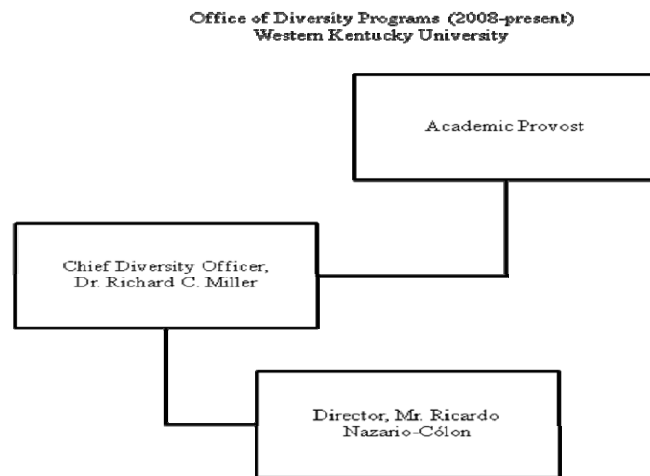


Figure 6 Western Kentucky University (2008-present)



While some universities are deciding to centralize their diversity efforts and place all offices responsible for diversity under the auspices of the diversity officer, not everyone agreed this was the best model. When the OMA at Morehead State University (MSU) was created, Gore reported to the Director of the University Counseling Center, which was housed in academic affairs at the time. It is unclear when the reporting lines changed, but prior to Gore's retirement the OMA had a reporting line in student affairs (Gore, personal communications, August 4, 2008). According to Phillips, when the diversity officer is hired at MSU, the position will report to both the president and the provost. Phillips noted that none of the offices or units currently responsible for diversity will report to the diversity officer (Phillips, personal communication, August 14, 2008). She stated that the decision to not have offices like OMSS report to the diversity officer was based on the principle that diversity should not be the responsibility of only a select few at MSU, but all members of the campus community. Phillips believed that the role of a diversity officer, or even her in the position as the Assistant Provost, was to provide guidance and influence when possible on issues regarding diversity.

When Phillips discussed the reason MSU decided to appoint an Assistant Provost for Diversity, she noted that students did not feel that OMSS had enough influence and power on campus to make necessary changes (Phillips, personal communication, August 14, 2008). Phillips admitted, as the Assistant Provost with a direct reporting line to the provost, that her position carried a certain amount of influence. But she also recognized that there can be people on campus who influence change despite not having a title, but Phillips questioned whether MSU had that person on their campus. Discussions involving tensions due to the perceived influence that administrators on the academic side of campus have in relation to student affairs administrators are not germane to MSU. Clearly, other participants in the study were cognizant of how their location within the organizational structure of the institution helped maintain the stability and continuity of their office, as Payne discussed earlier in this section, was true at U of L. See Figures 7 and 8 below.

Figure 7 Morehead State University (1984-1998; 1998-present)

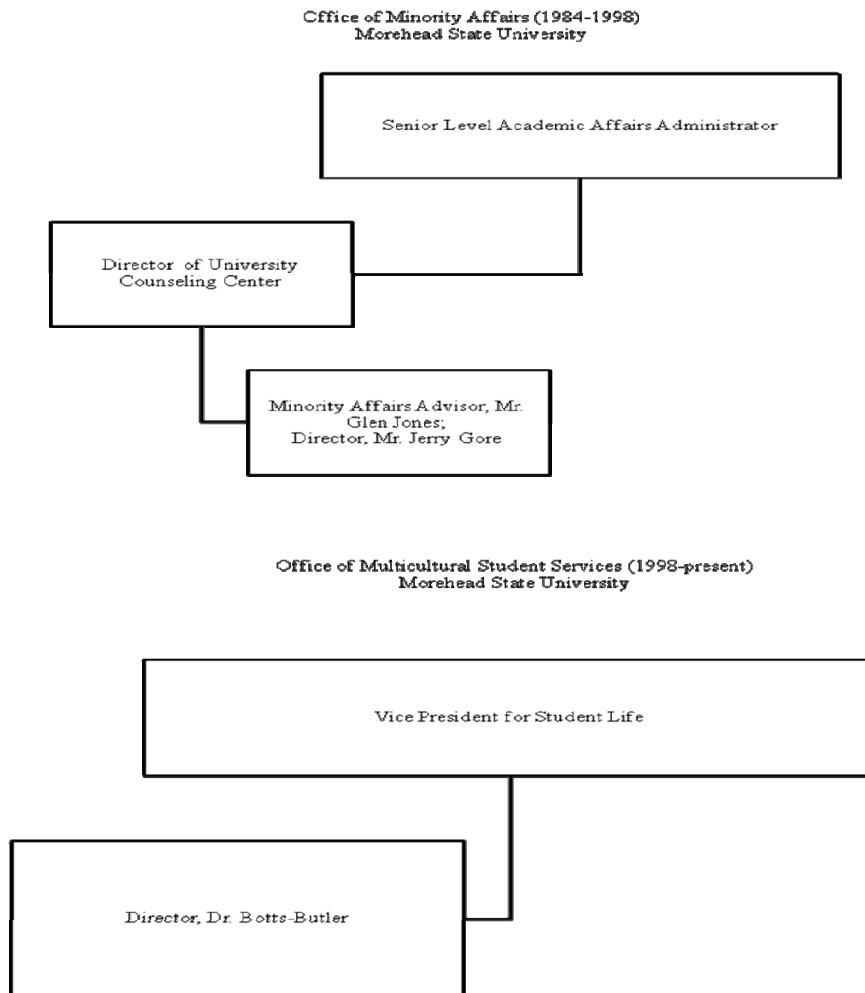
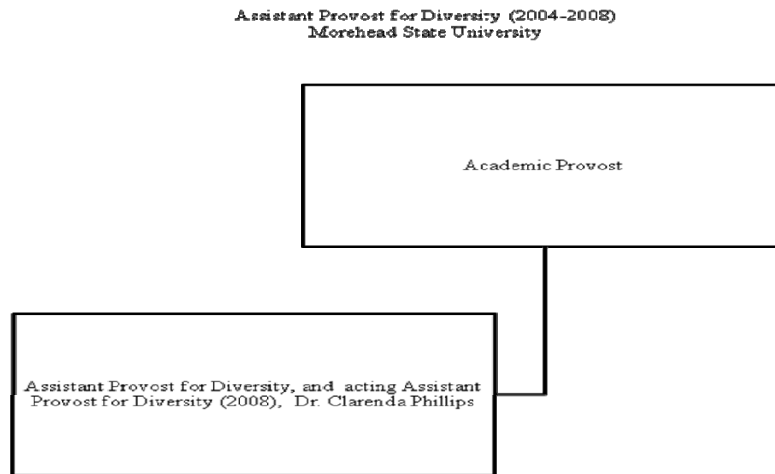


Figure 8 Morehead State University (2004-2008)



Intraracial Politics

It is unfortunate that administrators with experience working with diversity initiatives and those who are new to diversity officer positions have strained relationships. The tensions between the groups often lead to distrust, and what could be a united front becomes one that is easily penetrated by those who resist change. Despite the low number of black administrators present on predominantly white campuses, the addition of diversity officers does not necessarily unite and foster a community of shared experiences. Instead, mistrust is the theme that emerges among this group of administrators. The tensions and feelings of mistrust could run deeper than the changing credentials of administrators responsible for diversity or the debate regarding whether or not the diversity initiatives should be housed in academic affairs or student affairs. Could these tensions and feelings of mistrust be attributed to the Willie Lynch Syndrome?

The Willie Lynch Syndrome, the idea that blacks can be trained to be enemies of one another, is met with skepticism and opposition by both scholars and members of the black community. There is much debate whether or not William (Willie) Lynch was a slave owner who delivered the infamous speech on the banks of the James River in 1712. Some scholars argued that Lynch was a plantation owner in the West Indies and was asked by his fellow slave owners in Virginia to help them solve problems with their slaves (Hassan El, 1999). According to legend, the speech given by Lynch was intended to help southern slave owners control their slaves. Lynch suggested that if done properly, his techniques would control them for at least 300 years. As recorded, in that speech, Lynch apparently stated:

I have outlined a number of differences among the slaves, and I take these differences and make them bigger. I use fear, distrust, and envy for control purposes. These methods have worked on my modest plantation in the West Indies and it will work throughout the South. Take this simple list of difference, and think about them. On top of my list is "age" but it is there only because it starts with an "a"; the second is color or shade, there is intelligence, size, sex, size plantations, status on plantation, attitude of owners, whether the slave lives in the valley, on the hill, east, west, north, south, have fine hair, course hair, or is tall or short. Now that you have a list of differences, I shall give you an outline of action-but before that I shall assure you that distrust is stronger than trust, and envy is stronger than adulation, respect or admiration. The black slave after

receiving this indoctrination shall carry on and will become self refueling and self generating for hundreds of years, maybe thousands.

Don't forget you must pitch the old black male vs. the young black male and the young black male against the old black male. You must use the dark skin slaves vs. the light skin slaves and the light skin slaves vs. the dark skin slaves. You must use the female vs. the male, and the male vs. the female. You must also have your white servants and overseers distrust all blacks, but it is necessary that your slaves trust and depend on us. They must love, respect and trust only us. (Hassan El, pp. 8-9, 1999)

Lynch ended the speech by insisting that the slave owners, their wives, and their children use these directions for one year to control their slaves and it would result in perpetual distrust amongst the slaves.

Conversations within the black community about intraracial conflict are often reserved for one's closest confidants because this subject is still considered taboo. Despite the controversy surrounding this issue, it is one that needs to be addressed and discussed. K'Meyer and Crothers (2007) were faced with a similar dilemma of whether or not to pursue sensitive subject matter during a series of oral history interviews with Marguerite Davis Stewart. Stewart volunteered to share her experiences and was put in contact with K'Meyer and Crothers to discuss her work with the Red Cross during World War II. However, the researchers noted how she made numerous references to her racial identity during interviews and they then became very interested in her experiences as a light-skinned black woman, passing as a white woman, during the Jim Crow era. Despite Stewart's hesitance, and at some time refusal, to discuss her racial identity, K'Meyer and Crothers believed that race was on her mind and they felt that this was evident in the frequent and spontaneous references she made throughout several months of interviews. K'Meyer and Crothers commented that it was the responsibility of scholars to "confront taboo topics and address them with open dialogue" in order to create a complete document (p. 93). Several topics are considered taboo and off limits within the black community, and most notable are discussions of intraracial tensions. Even though there is an awareness among group members that there are deficiencies and critical issues within the community, it appears as an understanding that certain topics should not be

discussed publicly, but instead reserved for private conversations with one's group members.

In another study, Hall (2007) juxtaposed antebellum house negroes with modern-day black conservatives to show the similarities of the psychological domination by the master class over the two groups. Hall noted that black conservatives are an embarrassment to the black community as was the house negro, slaves more loyal to the master than members of their own race, but still the critiques of black conservatives are kept quiet in the black community. According to Hall (2007):

...the role of Black Conservatives in sustaining the pathologies of antebellum politics has remained an embarrassing and unspeakable taboo amid the Black population at large. As a matter of cultural norm, the masses of Black folk are reluctant to criticize any among their own, fearing self-denigration. (p. 566)

Although there is a perceived reluctance by blacks to criticize other blacks, the administrators in this study candidly spoke about the tensions. This could have been due to my racial identity as a black person, and my ability to establish rapport with the administrators, especially because of the sensitivity of discussions about both interracial and intraracial relations.

It was clear from the interviews with Botts-Butler and Bailey, two administrators who have worked closely with diversity initiatives for several years, both felt a level of distrust for the newly hired or appointed diversity officers. Their feelings of distrust could be related to the changing responsibilities of the diversity officers and where they are situated within the organizational and leadership structure of the university. Pitting those who have been on the front lines for the struggle of equity against those who have just recently begun working in positions with a primary responsibility for diversity is exactly what Lynch suggested must happen to perpetuate distrust. The distrust between administrators is also marked in the formation of the National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education (NADOHE). According to Botts-Butler:

...the people who are in this National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education [NADOHE] they do not want anything to do with the American Association for Affirmative Action [AAAA] which has been in existence for about 30 or 35 years. And so they really do not want to be associated with anything that has affirmative action in it...diversity has more cache than affirmative action/equal opportunity and it is less divisive. I think they see affirmative action and EEO as something they have to do and they see diversity as

this wonderful concept.... (Botts-Butler, personal communication, August 5, 2008)

Perhaps one explanation that could be offered for why NADOHE was created, despite the existence of AAAA, was that members of NADOHE focused on diversity in higher education and not the broader areas of affirmative action and equal opportunity policies in other aspects of American society. Members of NADOHE did not necessarily have responsibilities for affirmative action, and AAAA was not the best professional organization to support their professional missions. Although diversity officers might have responsibility for affirmative action and equal opportunity policies, because the position changed over time, responsibilities for those policies may no longer be under their supervision or a part of their specific duties. During Williams and Wade-Golden's (2007) discussion on the models of organizational diversity created by William and Clowney, they noted that the earliest diversity officers were those working in affirmative action and equity offices. Affirmative action officers and equal employment officers were responsible for leading efforts to eradicate discrimination on campuses. As the organizational model suggested, the responsibilities of the positions and offices changed over time, and an indicator of this change could be the newer diversity officers' organization affiliation.

AAAA was founded in 1974 for professionals from private and public industries, education, social service agencies, legal professions, and government working in the areas of equal opportunity, affirmative action, diversity, and human resources ("AAAA," 2010). The goals of AAAA are to:

foster effective affirmative action/equal opportunity programs nationwide; and local agencies involved with equal opportunity compliance in employment and education; promotes the professional growth and development of our [AAAA] members; sponsor education and training programs; and sponsor and conduct research. ("AAAA," 2010)

Both AAAA and NADOHE are committed to equality and inclusiveness; however, the organizations attract different members because of their targeted focuses. Regardless of the similar goals and missions of AAAA and NADOHE, it was clear from the discussion with Botts-Butler that there is a division among the two groups, either perceived or real. Although some of the diversity officers were candid about the division and tensions

among the group, there was not a discussion of how these strained relationships impacted university diversity initiatives. Perhaps this bifurcation goes unnoticed by others in the campus community not close to these issues; however, as a researcher included in the conversation, the tensions were pronounced and it would be naïve to suggest that the tensions existed in isolation.

Tokenism and Its Effects on Black Administrators

Another explanation for the existing tensions among black administrators is they feel conflicted about their responsibilities to the university and loyalties to the black community. Johnson (1974) argued that black administrators often deal with intrapersonal conflict which they internalize. This intrapersonal conflict has a devastating effect on the administrators' psyche, which gives the impression of incompetence to his or her white colleagues. The administrators often experience intrapersonal conflict when they are called upon to brief the administration on the state of affairs of black students. Johnson asserted:

When black administrators with powerful sounding positions are called on to give the "state of the black campus address"- reporting to higher officials of the university – there has to be an inner feeling akin to collaboration with the enemy. While it may not cause these individuals to distort or to give inaccurate information as to what is actually transpiring on campus as regards the blacks, the mere fact that they must reveal what the black segment of the campus is doing is viewed, from the standpoint of the black revolutionary students on campus, as a sell-out. The black administrators engaging in this dialogue know this. (p. 7)

The notion that black administrators are traitors to the black community is a familiar one. Because the responsibilities of the position often involves tackling issues and concerns that might be controversial and sensitive, the black administrator has to play a balancing act in an attempt to appease both the administration and its black constituents. When it appears that the black administrator is siding with the administration, the administrators' allegiance is often called into question by the black community.

Often the balancing act becomes too difficult for the administrators and they begin to feel isolated from others on campus. Botts-Butler stated that she thought that those working in positions responsible for affirmative action and early minority affairs directors were the most isolated people on any college or university campus; however,

she did not think that current diversity officers were subjected to the same type of isolation. According to Botts-Butler:

They [minority affairs directors] were pushing, pushing for change too so they were probably in the same boat as the Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity people, they were probably more feared and vilified than supported. Because that's one of the things we try to get across to the people at the Council on Postsecondary Education, is that some of the most isolated people on your public institution campuses are the people that are doing affirmative action/EEO for the campus, those are some of the most isolated people on campus in terms of where can they go for moral support and things of that nature. And typically if we don't support each other we don't get that support on campus from anybody, from whether it be other African American faculty or staff or majority faculty or staff, you don't get that support, you're one of the most isolated persons on campus. I don't necessarily see that with the chief diversity officers, I don't necessarily see that. (Botts-Butler, personal communication, August 5, 2008)

Whether or not Botts-Butler feels that the diversity officers should be considered as similar to the group of administrators responsible for affirmative action and equal employment opportunity, it is reasonable and likely that the responsibilities of diversity officers place them in similar situations to their predecessors in terms of isolation on predominantly white campuses. One possibility for feelings of isolation could be due to the nature of working on issues of race at a predominantly white campus in a society that is still very uncomfortable discussing race. Because diversity does not target only blacks, it may be that Botts-Butler's assessment of how these new administrators are received on campuses greatly varies from those in roles with specific responsibilities for blacks. The number of black administrators on predominantly white campuses are few, and this, according to Kanter's (1977) theory of proportional representation, also contributes to isolation and stress for the administrators.

Kanter's Theory of Proportional Representation.

Kanter's theory of proportional representation characterized work groups as uniform, skewed, tilted, or balanced (Jackson, Thoits, & Taylor, 1995). In a uniform work group, the ratio of majority employees to minority employees is 100:0. As a result of the homogenous work environment, stress is absent because there are not observable differences. The next group, is referred to as skewed, and occurs when the majority outnumbers the minority by a ratio of 99:1 through 85:15 (Jackson et al, 1995).

According to Jackson et al:

She [Kanter] refers to majority group members as “dominants” and minority group members as “tokens” in skewed groups. Those in numerical majority are assumed to control the group and its culture; tokens have very little power in these situations. Tokens are “often treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals (Kanter 1977:208).” (p.545)

The third group is the tilted group in which there are more dominants than tokens. The distribution in the tilted group ranges from 84:16 to 65:35 and because there are more minorities in this group they are able to form support systems and have an impact on the office culture (Jackson et al, 1995). Lastly, balanced groups have a ratio of 64:36 to 50:50 and because of these proportions the interactions between majority and minority groups are balanced. Jackson et al summarized Kanter, “In this situation, individual outcomes depend upon structural and personal factors related to group members rather than group composition per se” (p. 545). The administrators participating in this study could best be categorized as belonging to the skewed group because of the ratio of dominants to tokens. Although there is usually more than one black administrator on a campus, diversity officers are usually one of few, or the only one, in a position with a sole responsibility for diversity initiatives.

Considering the responsibilities of diversity officers, it makes sense that they would be sought after to speak on behalf of the minority constituency as Kanter suggested is typical of tokens. One issue of significant concern with the skewed group is that the dominants control the office culture and tokens are given little power (Jackson et al, 1995). These feelings of powerlessness are just one source that contributes to tokens being more vulnerable for lower emotional well being. Kanter also identified three additional stressors that compromise the emotional health of tokens. According to Kanter, performance pressure is a stressor that focuses on the differentness of tokens in comparison to dominants. Since the difference is so obvious, tokens feel that they are constantly scrutinized on their jobs and this scrutiny is not the only aspect of performance pressure present for tokens. Kanter also noted:

Because their “differentness” is highly visible, tokens feel that they are always under scrutiny. Further, because they are symbolic representatives of their “type,” tokens experience added pressure to perform well, since this may determine future opportunities for other individuals in their social category. (Jackson et al, 1995, p. 545)

In addition to performance pressure, Kanter contended that tokens are also exposed to stress from boundary height.

Boundary heightening, as defined by Kanter, “results from majority group members’ tendencies to exaggerate their own commonalities as well as their differences from tokens” (p. 545). Jokes and exclusion from formal activities are just a couple of ways that tokens are reminded of their differences from dominants. The responses of the tokens can be to remain as an outsider, socially isolated or to attempt to show the dominants they are different than their group members in order to gain their favor. The notion that some black administrators try to present themselves as different from others in their racial group is not a rare one. In the interview with Payne, when asked about the role his office played in the recruitment of faculty, he stated the OMA had an active role in the recruitment of faculty and that when black candidates were being courted for positions they would often inquire about an office of black affairs to gauge the universities’ commitment to its minority constituents. However, Payne noted how things are different now in terms of communication and that newly hired blacks are often on campus years before he meets them. Payne said:

...they wouldn’t take a job without checking to see if there was an office that was part of the litmus test in those days. Do you have an office? Your commitment was measured by do you have an office of black affairs, minority affairs. And that determined if you had a strong commitment and candidates wouldn’t accept a job without talking to a staff member in black affairs or minority affairs to ask about the basic things, where there’s a beautician, where’s the barber shop, where are the churches. But now we get folks of color being hired here and they may be here for years and you’re just meeting them for the first time, with the internet it’s kind of taken away that need for that one on one. (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008)

Even though the internet might make it easier for blacks to find community information and therefore limits the need for personal interactions within the campus community, perhaps not all blacks arriving at universities seek support from other blacks on campus.

Heterogeneity Among Blacks

Smith and Moore (2000) examined intraracial relations among black students attending a predominantly white university to learn how students interact with each other. The researchers were interested in the intraracial interactions to show that despite the sociological research suggesting that blacks are a homogenous group, blacks are different

socially, culturally, and economically. Smith and Moore argued that within the field of sociology, blacks are studied as one group and are included in conversations on social and economic inequality and interracial racism and they ignore the diversity among blacks. According to Smith and Moore, "...much of sociological research assumes that, as a group, blacks represent cultural, social, and economic homogeneity and that intraracial relations are close and without conflict..." (p. 2). The findings from the case study on the undergraduate black students illustrated that not all blacks seek the support of other blacks, as was true for one-third of the black students who had "few or no black friends as a proportion of their good friends on campus and did not feel part of the black campus community" (Smith & Moore, 2000, p. 34). Smith and Moore also found that one-fifth of the black students were socially distant, "less likely to rely on other black students for need satisfaction and social interaction" (p. 34). These students labeled socially distant did not participate in black student organizations or dine with other blacks in the cafeteria.

Although black administrators and faculty in the past sought diversity offices for support and community, these offices might not be a necessity for people of color arriving at predominantly white campuses today. Smith and Moore (2000) concluded that the black students' feelings of closeness to or distance from their group were based on how they perceived themselves in reference to the majority of their black classmates. The newly hired diversity officers in this study could have different perceptions of their work due to the changing responsibilities of the position, including an emphasis on incorporating diversity into curricula and policies. Kanter proposed that dominants consider tokens as one unvarying group; however, Smith and Moore asserted, that there are differences among blacks and how they relate to each other are indications of the dissimilarities. If the black administrators recognize differences among themselves, their similar experiences with career advancement in the workplace implies that there is homogeneity in how they are perceived at predominantly white universities.

Pigeonholing

Viewing diversity officers as a uniform group can influence the third source of stress experienced by tokens which Kanter's theory terms role entrapment, also known as typecasting. In a recent journal article, Acello (2008) contended that attorneys are often

pigeonholed and the same limited expectation of roles occurs with actors, except it is just termed differently, typecasting. According to Acello, "...Pigeonholed attorneys are typecasted in whatever role they started out and in many cases find themselves stuck in a career rut" (p.36). Similar to attorneys stuck in a career rut, many administrators responsible for diversity in this study, have first-hand experience with pigeonholing. When Botts-Butler was encouraged by an executive level administrator at Morehead State University (MSU) to apply for the general counsel position, she did so; however, she was not hired. Botts-Butler was not shocked that she was overlooked for the position, she noted "that happens to people that do affirmative action, it's believed that's all you are good for" (Botts-Butler, personal communication, August 5, 2008). Nazario-Cólon discussed how he frequently tells his junior administrative staff at Western Kentucky University (WKU), that if they are interested in professional advancement in student affairs, a position in an office responsible for diversity should be the last stop for them on their professional journey (Nazario-Cólon, personal communication September 4, 2008). He also commented that many people in the higher education community view people working with diversity as unable to work and relate to majority students, and because of these opinions Nazario-Cólon suggested it is imperative to work in other areas before working in offices with a primary responsibility for diversity.

Nazario-Cólon recently experienced pigeonholing when he entered the job market prior to being hired as the Director of the Office of Diversity Programs (ODP) at WKU. According to him:

During my transition from the University of Kentucky to Western I looked at a variety of places and you know I tried to do everything that I could to highlight my skills that would meet the needs of majority students in some other jobs I applied. Maybe I didn't do a good enough job you know I looked at the job description and said 'I can do this, I do this all the time.' I'm not saying that that's the reason that I didn't get an interview, there could have been better candidates but I certainly felt that I had the experience. (Nazario-Cólon, personal communication September 4, 2008)

Much like the experience of Botts-Butler, Nazario-Cólon felt that he was not considered for positions outside of diversity affairs because of his previous experience in multicultural affairs. When Gore was asked to discuss pigeonholing as it related to his position as Director of the OMA at MSU, he asserted that the administration viewed his

position as one that was not “broken” and so there was not a need to fix it. Gore also commented that because of the success he had in the position and the relationships he had formed with the students, faculty, and staff, the administration was satisfied. The only promotion that Gore received during his tenure at MSU was when he was promoted to the position of Director of the Office of Minority Affairs (Gore, personal communication, August 4, 2008). Instead of the MSU administration viewing Gore’s success in minority affairs as an indicator of what he was capable of doing in another capacity on campus, Gore noted that it never translated into other career opportunities. He stated:

...as far as saying “hey, look at the skills he brought at this level, what could we do if we made him a vice president, what more could he do to help us?” They didn’t look at it like that, they didn’t care to look at it that way. (Gore, personal communication, August 4, 2008)

Limiting the career options of black administrators is frustrating for those who have ambitions outside of diversity affairs. Fitzpatrick expressed similar sentiments when he discussed pigeonholing. Fitzpatrick said, “I think once you have that experience under your belt you can take that experience and literally make it work for you in some other settings as well as going forward” (Fitzpatrick, personal communication, October 7, 2008). Because of his experience of being pigeonholed and his perceptions of obstacles to moving into other areas, Nazario-Cólon continues to share career advice with others working in diversity affairs to allow them more opportunities than he has been afforded.

Although Payne began in the Office of Black Affairs (OBA) at the University of Louisville (U of L), he was aware that he could only remain as the director for a limited amount of time to avoid being pigeonholed. When Payne was asked how he avoided being pigeonholed, he commented “I conscientiously stepped out of that role and began to be proactive in redesigning myself” (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008). Payne thought that the position in the OBA gave him adequate training for future job prospects and was sure that the skills he obtained as director would be valuable in other positions he pursued. He acknowledged that he was fortunate to be able to step outside of the confines of a single administrative area in order to avoid being pigeonholed, but he realized that not everyone working in these types of positions has the same success. Because he understood how likely and common it was to pigeonhole staff

in minority affairs, Payne, like Nazario-Cólon, insisted that his staff expand their backgrounds to have more options for future career prospects. Payne stated:

I have always been geared to have transferrable skills and Dr. McMillan and I encouraged the whole staff to have those transferrable skills so that they can take what we're doing here and go to admissions, go to registrar, to go to the Dean's office and we had a strong track record and we became a fertile recruitment ground when the doors of opportunity did open up at the University. Not only under my direction, but under some of the other directors' direction, there are people in some key positions still here at the University and outside of the University who first got their opportunity to hone their professional skills at that office. (Payne, personal communication, October 6, 2008)

In an attempt not to be pigeonholed, these black administrators realized that they had to consciously resist any career limitations imposed by their superiors. However, institutional structures in American society continue to dictate where these black administrators should be located on predominantly white campuses.

Compartmentalizing Diversity

Proponents of CRT would agree that these administrators' perception of the university as an institutional structure that limits career opportunities for blacks is accurate. The university operates in a society, where according to CRT scholars, racism is normal and penetrates deep into American society. This penetration is evident in how colleges and university make passive attempts to diversify their campuses, often times without a proper vision. Brayboy (2003) asserted "...predominantly White institutions of higher education often view diversity as a free-standing policy, and the way that diversity is something that can be implemented without necessarily changing the underlying structure of the institution and its day-to-day operations" (p.73). Adams (2005) stated that although changes were being made at predominantly white institutions to make them more diverse, specifically curricular changes, the climate of these campuses have remained almost unchanged. Adams argument was similar to Brayboy's. The commitment to implement and maintain diversity initiatives must be genuine and sincere, if universities want to prove their allegiance to equitable campus communities. Instead of universities changing their philosophies, Brayboy noted that they attempt to implement diversity by hiring new faculty of color to head committees and work with underrepresented students, and offer a few more courses on diversity. He considered

those cosmetic changes similar to window dressing and noted that universities lack real commitment to integrating diversity into the existing university structure, arguing:

To advance the agenda of diversity, institutions that truly value diversity must move toward considering wholesale changes in their underlying structures and day-to-day activities, especially if they are truly committed to refocusing the historical legacies of institutional, epistemological, and societal racisms that pervade colleges and universities. Too often institutions fail to make a wholehearted commitment; instead they hire some faculty of color to implement diversity, and the process stalls. (p. 74)

Brayboy's assessment of how universities have failed to implement fully diversity initiatives by giving the responsibilities to a faculty member are accurate and could be further indication of why higher education institutions have moved to hire a person with full time responsibilities for diversity initiatives.

Prior to diversity officers arriving on campuses, diversity related issues were often the responsibility of black faculty members noted Brayboy (2003), excusing others on campus from any responsibilities related to diversity. When I asked Phillips about the decision to hire a diversity officer and if there would be any offices or units such as the Office of Multicultural Student Services (OMSS) reporting to that position, she said:

We've had conversations about that in part because we want everyone to own diversity. If you make the black staff and international staff report to the minority person, then diversity is what they do and everybody else gets off the hook. So, I think we've decided it's important for people in various units and for every unit to own diversity. Then the chief diversity officer or even my work as Assistant Provost we're just supporting folks, giving guidance and using our influence when possible. (Phillips, personal communication, August 14, 2008)

When all the responsibility falls on the diversity officer and the offices that report to the position, it seems like others are given a pass and diversity continues to be seen as only a priority for those in certain positions and capacities within the campus community. However, if diversity is attached to the already demanding to-do list of faculty of color, a university is taking a risk and their commitment to diversity becomes questionable. Debates of whether or not diversity efforts should be centralized or decentralized are necessary in order to determine which approach best meets the universities' missions to be inclusive. If universities opt not to hire administrators to supervise campus diversity

initiatives and decide that diversity should be the responsibility of a few faculty, those institutions should be willing to accept that because of other demands placed upon faculty, diversity initiatives may stall and not be a priority. In his analysis of the expectations of black faculty, Brayboy discussed how responsibilities related to diversity are often minimized despite the emotional and physical energy exerted by the faculty. He asserted that black faculty are conflicted about their role in helping their universities achieve diversity because of the time left for them to meet their scholarly requirements of researching and publishing (Brayboy). The option to not accept formal responsibilities for diversity is not plausible, for several reasons, according to Brayboy.

Brayboy (2003) argued that despite a desire to concentrate solely on one's own research agenda, "Refusing to do the work may paint them as recalcitrant, troublemakers, or poor community members by senior faculty in their departments or their colleagues" (p. 76). He also stated that black faculty who refuse this work must be prepared to be labeled as "sellouts or race traitors" (Brayboy, 2003, p. 76). Instead of having the opportunity to be faculty members focusing on research and teaching, as is the case for their white colleagues, Brayboy argued that black scholars are expected to implement diversity in addition to their primary responsibilities as faculty. Similar to Brayboy, who asserted black faculty are not only held responsible for implementing diversity but also are held responsible when the implementation fails, Hall and Stevenson (2007) found the same to be true for diversity coordinators at independent schools (K-12). An informant in Hall and Stevenson's research on diversity coordinators spoke about the difficulty she had trying to recruit participants for a research project she was leading. As the diversity coordinator, the participant assumed full responsibility and the institution was relieved from responsibility. According to Hall and Stevenson,

This is protective for the institution since it is not known how individuals within the school will respond to the project. Schools have made a verbal commitment to be involved with the work; yet, if the project fails, the school is absolved of responsibility, since a single individual has been identified as responsible for the completion and success of the project. (p. 10)

Brayboy similarly commented that when diversity implementation is unsuccessful, senior faculty vocalize how they were supportive of the initiative, but the junior faculty, often black faculty members, failed at their attempts.

It is this conceptualization of diversity as only being the responsibility of a few that has resulted in several participants in this study feeling pigeonholed. As a result of their success in these positions, there is little consideration afforded them for opportunities in other areas on campus. Although several of the participants were aware of how they had been victims of the pigeonholing phenomenon, not everyone was willing to discuss the topic. When pigeonholing and personal experience were raised in an interview with Miller, the Chief Diversity Officer at WKU, he insisted that it would only happen to him if he allowed it and admitted that he did not have an opinion on the issue (Miller, personal communication, September 10, 2008). Miller was the only study participant who seemed to dismiss the idea of black administrators being pigeonholed. While Miller may not have experienced pigeonholing, his reluctance to discuss it may be because it is uncomfortable to think that others might have played as much or more of a role in his career trajectory than he would like to admit.

Discussions of race and an analysis of race relations, both interracial and intraracial, are still uncomfortable for many. Perhaps part of the discomfort is related to the utopian idea that America is a country that has moved beyond racial injustice and embraces equity for all. Bell (1992), one of several founders of CRT, argued “racism is a permanent part of American landscape” (p. 92). Bell and other proponents of CRT are not only interested in addressing the institutional structures that continue to perpetuate racism in America, these proponents also support CRT as a theory that will “eliminate racial oppression as part of a larger project to eradicate all forms of oppression” (Tate, 1999, p. 256). This eradication of racism is imperative and one of the structures that must be involved in the erosion of racist propaganda in our nation’s institutions of higher education. The black diversity officers in this study recognized that one way they could help students of color dismantle structures that maintain racism was by supporting the students in their academic endeavors. The diversity officers commitment to resisting racism, particularly institutional racism, is evident in the following chapter.

To summarize this chapter, the addition of diversity officers was one that was not always welcomed by others working in the area of diversity. Instead, the newly hired diversity officers have led to questions of why they were hired when others with experience were overlooked for the positions. Instead of diversity officers and directors

uniting to further gains for people of color on traditionally white campuses, there are tensions about which side of the academy one is located and the changing requirements of the position. Another concern is the intentions of diversity officers and whether or not these positions can improve issues related to equity on campus or if they are merely another rung on the career ladder. The divisions between the two groups could be remnants of a rarely discussed and taboo subject, Willie Lynch syndrome, in which the end result is the satisfaction of members of the dominant race. But before one can conclude that the tensions between the two groups of black administrators are solely the byproducts of the Willie Lynch syndrome, one must be cognizant of the evolution of the diversity officer position from its earlier origins. The changing responsibilities with more emphasis on policy and curriculum and less on advocacy, according to some of the early diversity officers, could be one reason for the dissonance among these black administrators. In the next chapter, the diversity officers' tensions seem unnoticeable as they share counterstories of why they choose these positions, despite the obstacles associated with their work.

Chapter Five: Standing On the Shoulders of Others

The administrators in this study are committed to ensuring that students of color arriving on their campuses are treated fairly and supported throughout their academic careers. Despite their experiences with pigeonholing and structural racism previously discussed, it is clear that these administrators' attraction to their positions has little to do with acquiescing to white interests and everything to do with their own personal convictions and interests. As mentioned in the introduction to this study, early scholars suggested that black administrators working in minority affairs offices at predominantly white institutions were in those areas because they were not considered for other positions. This assertion by these early scholars regarding the entry of black administrators on white campuses as having limited opportunities for career advancement is valid; however, to conclude that there was not a personal interest on the part of the administrators in such positions is unfair and uninformed. The administrators in this study placed an emphasis on helping black students attain academic, personal, and professional success.

Racial uplift as defined by both Banks (2006) and Logan (1998) emphasized improving conditions for blacks. How to uplift blacks would depend largely on one's own ideology of how they could elevate their economic and educational statuses. The concept of racial uplift has a long and storied history and the different notions have helped to shape what many believe and practice today. According to Norrell (1998), Booker T. Washington thought that economic and educational uplift was necessary if blacks were to be considered equal to whites. In 1880, Lewis Adams, a tinsmith in Tuskegee, Alabama, was one of several men who wrote a letter to the local newspaper highlighting the benefits of a school for black youth. Two white men, Arthur Brooks, the owner of a local publication, and a leader for economic prosperity, and Colonel Wilbur Foster, a merchant and farmer, seeking public office contacted Adams for his support along with the votes of the black community. Adams, aware of the needs and desire of the black community to establish a school, agreed that he would get the black voters to support Brooks and Foster in exchange for a black normal school funded by the state (Norrell, 1998).

Norrell (1998) offered a caveat against simplifying the establishment of Tuskegee Institute as only the byproduct of *quid pro quo*. Instead, Norrell argued that the new school was also meant to solidify the harmonious relationship between whites and black and keep blacks in the community. Because there were fears that blacks in Tuskegee would migrate, which would further devastate the town's economic woes, Brown and Foster were willing to appease the black community with a school, which was expected to keep blacks from leaving the area while boosting the economy. Brown and Foster's efforts to keep blacks in the community is defined by critical race theorists as interest convergence, as the two men sought to benefit the local economy while bartering with the black community. When the Board of Trustees for Tuskegee Institute began searching for a president to lead the institution, they sought the leadership of a white man (Norrell, 1998). However, Washington was recommended for the presidency by his mentor and founder of Hampton Institute, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong. Despite the requests from the Board of Trustees to have a white man serve as president of Tuskegee Institute, Armstrong knew that Washington would be a strong candidate because "...Washington willingly accepted the counsel of white men, clearly a prerequisite for success in Tuskegee" (Norrell, 1998, p. 16). As a student of Armstrong, Washington adopted his views which included that equality of blacks was attainable through moral and economic uplift.

At the time of Washington's appointment as the first president of Tuskegee Institute, the curriculum was devoted to industrial arts, more specifically agriculture. Despite Washington's belief that an educated black workforce would lead to more equitable conditions for blacks, Norrell (1998) suggested that blacks received minimal benefits from Tuskegee Institute. Washington's hopes that blacks would benefit from a curriculum focused on farming did not materialize and instead, black farmers were still dependent on and oppressed by white landowners in their position as sharecroppers. Opponents of Washington argued that his notion of racial uplift was as much about the interests of whites as it was blacks. Norrell commented on Washington's ability to ease the fears of white southerners, and this was crucial for the success of Tuskegee Institute. Washington's willingness to appease the anxious, white southerners, who feared and had reservations about educating blacks, was evident in his educational agenda for blacks.

Washington asserted that blacks would always remain in the South and this calmed the fears of white southerners about losing black labor to migration once they were educated (Norrell, 1998).

William Edward Burghardt (W. E. B.) Du Bois is often thought of as the antithesis of Washington. Both Du Bois and Washington worked to uplift the black community; however, their approaches differed greatly. In contrast to Washington, Du Bois advocated a classical education for blacks as opposed to an industrial one that relegated blacks to manual labor without sufficient economic opportunities (Norrell, 2009). Providing blacks with an education that emphasized industrial arts, in Du Bois's opinion, gave the impression that blacks accepted their plights in a segregated South where discrimination was "normal". Du Bois critiques of Washington resonates with the critical race theory tenet of interest convergence. Washington's perceived willingness to accommodate white interests and attach a higher premium to those interests, while seeking minimal benefits for blacks is an example of interest convergence. According to Norrell, Du Bois criticized Washington, "for serving Northern industrialists who wanted a big supply of cheap, docile black labor and for excusing discrimination in the South by blaming the black man for his own poverty" (2009, p. B5). While Norrell argued that Washington has been misunderstood by blacks who often referred to Washington as an "accommodationist to segregation" (2009, p. B5), this reputation does not seem misguided given his approach to racial uplift. Washington's concept of racial empowerment is in direct opposition to the administrators in this study, whose primary concern was the uplift of students. It appeared as though Washington tied the opportunities for blacks to white pacification. Despite his accomplishments at Tuskegee Institute, blacks were not the primary beneficiaries. The administrators in this study discussed uplift as it related to the successes of their students and their communities without consideration of the benefits gained by the majority.

Uplifting and Supporting

Gore, former Director of the Office of Minority Affairs at Morehead State University (MSU), expressed that one of the reasons he wanted to help MSU increase its black population was because he had always been interested in the uplift of his community. He attributed this feeling to his large family that served as a source of

support for him (Gore, personal communication, August 4, 2008). Like Gore, the other participants were attracted to their positions for similar reasons. For example, Laster, past Director of Multicultural Academic Enhancement Program at the University of Louisville (U of L) stated, “The joy has always been the fact that you can get another black student to graduate and get out of the University and become another effective possible leader, administrator, teacher, lawyer, doctor, Indian chief, that’s my commitment” (Laster, personal communication, October 14, 2008). Laster’s commitment to helping black students succeed and become leaders, is a theme that many hope will be self-perpetuating as young leaders will in turn share with others what has been shared with them.

The idea of helping others succeed, more specifically, black students, was also shared by Phillips when discussing what attracted her to the position of Assistant Provost for Diversity at MSU. Phillips stated:

I think we are only in the position because it is an opportunity to help students be successful. We all know that community is important and we went through a dissertation process that for most of us was a very isolating experience. So there is this passion and this drive to make sure that students regardless of what level of education they are in, there’s this drive for them not to experience that same isolation. And we look at the numbers and we still know that we are not graduating from college at the rates we need to be. I think you know...you say that we graduate from high school in roughly the same numbers as you know whites but then 13, 15% of us graduate from college and so I think we do it because we want more students, we want more African American to have a college degree. We believe the college experiences changes lives, it’s all for this sort of racial uplift, it is for racial uplift. And some people would say maybe you shouldn’t say that but it is, that’s what it is, we are in this together. You know and we either sink together or we swim together and the preference is that we swim together. (Phillips, personal communication, August 14, 2008)

The administrators interviewed understood the importance of “swimming together”, and uplifting the masses of black people was and continues to be a priority for them.

Botts-Butler, Director of the Office of Multicultural Student Services (OMSS) at MSU decided to make the move from human resources in order to have more contact with students (Botts-Butler, personal communication, August 21, 2008). Her motivation to move into a position that allowed for more contact and interaction with students was because of her desire to help students whom she felt were headed down the wrong path. After speaking to her brother, who Botts-Butler considers a mentor, she realized the impact she could have in helping young students reach their full potential and welcomed

the opportunity to help younger members of her community excel. The willingness of the black administrators in this study to help other members of their community succeed is how Barrett (2004) and Logan (1998) understood racial uplift and weaved the concept into their professional work as previously discussed in chapter two. Bailey, the Vice President of Student Affairs at Western Kentucky University (WKU), noted that because of his position in administration he does not have the same opportunities that he has had in the past to interact and engage with students; however, he deliberately goes to the campus dining facility on occasions to maintain and foster relationships with all students, and not just black students. Bailey commented:

I still go to the Downing Center and have lunch in the cafeteria. I am interrupted about twenty times...but I don't want that to go away, I don't want to lose that contact with students, that's what energizes me. In my case they don't have to be a student of color for me to be energized, do I enjoy and do I want to help more students of color, of course, there's no question about it and I will publicly tell anybody, but all students are my passion. (Bailey, personal communication September 11, 2008)

Bailey acknowledges his commitment to students of color, but emphasized his passion for helping all students regardless of their racial background.

Fitzpatrick, who once served as the Special Assistant to the President for Affirmative Action at U of L, noted that he was interested in working in his capacity because of the opportunity to make a change in the lives of students and believing that he could actually make a difference. The most notable experiences Fitzpatrick recalled were times when former students shared with him how they were making a difference in the community. Fitzpatrick said:

...when I see students today that were my former students and they walk up and they grab and give me a big hug and they embrace me and tell me about some of the wonderful things that they're either doing in the local community or their respective communities that really is enriching, it's a rich, rich feel. And the experience that I have and I value that, I value that. I think just the opportunity to make a difference, just the opportunity to make a real difference in the lives of individuals... (Fitzpatrick, personal communication, October 14, 2008)

The difference that these administrators want to see in the students is not just for their academic success, but their success as involved global citizens. This is especially important to Nazario-Cólon, Director of the Office of Diversity Programs at WKU. He

stated, "...I feel a responsibility to make sure that students get politicized, that they do get engaged, that they own the university, that they graduate with the best package design and content that they can" (Nazario-Cólon, personal communication, September 5, 2008). Equipping students with the skills necessary to be effective, productive members of society is important for Nazario-Cólon. This is also reflected in the four pillars, diversity, social justice, intellectual growth, and leadership that he insists guide his staff with their programming effort.

Post-racialism

With each success of a student, the diversity officers in this study have their dreams realized. Sending forth bright, capable students, especially black students, is what fulfills and encourages them to continue their efforts at predominantly white institutions. Recently, public conversations have focused on whether or not the United States is a post-racial society, defined by Lum (2009) as a society in which race matters less now than in the past. These conversations were initiated primarily after the election of President Barack Obama, the first black president of the United States. The election of a black man to the highest office in the country would indicate that race and the role that it once played, is different; however, critics of a post-racial society warn those believers of this utopian-like society that race is still significant in America. Much like critical race theorists who posit that racism is a part of American life, so much that it is often unrecognized, scholars writing about this issue, noted that post-racial views were preceded by color blind societies. Critical race theorists debunk notions of color blind societies, because as Bergerson (2003) stated "The idea of colorblindness allows racism to persist in more subtle ways" (p. 53). Bergerson argued that the idea of colorblindness is really about accepting people of color based on how well they assimilate into majority culture. Scholars questioning post-racialism are similar to Bergerson in their assessment of this new discourse. Expressly because of the persistence of racial stereotypes and continued disparities between whites and blacks in education and employment, they reject the notion that America is in a post-racial era.

Lum (2009) asserted, "for the foreseeable future, post-racialism will likely attract more believers than it will lose them. Efforts to dismantle or ban affirmative action, for instance, will likely accelerate" (p. 14). Because of the images of a black president, Lum

who cited McWhorter, believed that it will be easier for younger generations to embrace America as a post-racial society. If what McWhorter stated about young children being more likely to accept post-racialism is true, it begs the question, will diversity officers and the offices they head be relevant in the near future? The notion that a post-racial America has dawned, or is on the horizon, could have been part of conversations that resulted in the changing names of diversity offices. Once referred to as black affairs offices, with a primary focus on a racially specific group, there was a shift to include other racial groups and this was done by changing the aforementioned offices to minority and multicultural affairs.

Despite the name changes of the offices, the offices were intended to support students of color on predominantly white campuses. The shift to make the offices more inclusive with words such as diversity, culture, and multicultural, emphasizes all students and is less exclusive than names that targeted specific groups. Payne (1998) argued that one way to improve interracial relationships is to have people from different racial backgrounds focus on their common interests. According to Payne:

Focusing on interests can be instrumental in bringing blacks, whites, Asians, and Latinos together to form interracial coalitions. The interests of the poor often diverge from those of the middle class, regardless of skin color. Working together to achieve common objectives facilitates the development of close interpersonal relations and a sense of belonging to a particular group. Concentrating on interests reduces the significance of race by helping members of different racial groups realize that they share a common destiny. (p. 195)

Payne's argument emphasizing the importance of focusing on common interests to negate the role of race in American society runs counter to what critical race theory proponents argue. Because of the assertion by critical race theorists that racism is so embedded in American society it is hard to support Payne's argument that racial harmony can be achieved by focusing on the interests of different racial groups. The experiences of racial groups in the United States are varied and complicated and the individual histories of these groups are grossly understated by only acknowledging common interests. Payne's notion of oneness to arrive at a colorblind society is being realized by supporters who suggest that America is now a post-racial society. Perhaps this idea of oneness is evident when looking at the enrollment trends of students in Kentucky public higher education institutions. The number of students who identify as unknown with

regards to their racial background has increased throughout the years, and this is indicated in the enrollment figures (see Appendix D). The number of students classified as unknown has significantly increased from 1998 to 2008. In addition to the growing number of students identifying as unknown, were the increases in the number of students from various racial groups. The increasing number of students from different racial backgrounds has prompted more universities, including U of L, WKU, and MSU, to seek to make the offices dedicated to multicultural affairs more inclusive. In Appendix D, the enrollment trends from the fall of 1998 to the fall of 2008 show the increasing diversity of students attending Kentucky's public colleges and universities.

In chapter one, Williams and Wade-Golden (2007) summarized William and Clowney's (2007) three models of organizational diversity in higher education, which suggested that diversity has shifted from including a few targeted groups to the entire campus community. This approach to make diversity an interest of the campus community appeared when the offices changed from minority affairs to multicultural affairs. The concentration of groups under the multicultural affairs model was broader than those included in the affirmative action and equity model. According to the multicultural model different racial and ethnic groups, women, gays and lesbians, and people with disabilities were the intended groups. The move to include diversity into classroom curriculum, where all groups were emphasized, and no one group singled out because of racial affiliation, seems similar to arguments of those who argue that race is no longer a major consideration in American society. The idea that America is a post-racial society that no longer places an emphasis on race, but exists in a larger global context, was evident in Nazario-Cólon's instruction for his staff, when he asked them to consider programming based on diversity, social justice, intellectual growth, and leadership (Nazario-Cólon , personal communication, September 4, 2008). Clearly, there are markers indicating progress from a racial standpoint. For example, there are no longer legally segregated educational institutions or public accommodations. However, one must not consider the successes of a few as being indicative of structural and institutional change and naively proclaim that race no longer matters.

Even though segregation has ended and the first black president has been elected, oppression of blacks and other traditionally oppressed groups still remains. Because of

this persistence, diversity officers and their offices continue and will continue to have significance in the higher education community. The utility of a diversity officer is not diminished based on whether or not the position reports to academic or student affairs. Instead, all of the diversity officers in this study working in positions to further equity and support students of color have a wealth of invaluable experience, but more importantly, a genuine passion for their work. Although their counterstories revealed their challenges with pigeonholing in the academy, these administrators continued to be agents of change and support for members of their community. For those administrators no longer in positions primarily responsible for diversity, it was evident from their stories that they are still involved in racial uplift, despite not having a formal title. Perhaps the demographics of diversity officers will change in the future, but regardless of their race, clearly these offices or counterspaces, are still vital to the success of blacks at these predominantly white universities.

Conclusion

Black administrators choose to work in positions with a primary responsibility for diversity for many reasons. The stories of these administrators bear witness to the strong passion for their work and their community. Attempting to diminish the role that institutional racism is perceived to play in her administrative position, Barrett (2004) described how she viewed her job, and argued that she was in her position, Associate Vice Chancellor for Student Development and Diversity, as a way of furthering what she considered “my small ‘a’ activist agenda” (p. 82). Barrett asserted that the traditional academic career path emphasized competitiveness and individual achievement. Instead of advancing one’s personal agenda, which Barrett suggested is valued in terms of tenure and promotion in the academy, she saw her role as one that both initiates and fosters change at several levels. More specifically, Barrett believed:

On the good days, I see it as a way to craft an educational experience that compels future leaders to act in pursuit of the common good. It is also an opportunity to model on campus, or within a division, the type of community I would like to exist on a larger scale, one with authentic inclusion and equity at its cores. All of us on campus---faculty, staff, student or administrator---have a unique opportunity to make a difference in our world. We are the creators and disseminators of new knowledge. (p. 82)

Barrett's argument of being an activist suggested that she did not view her position as one she was handed simply based on her race, but instead as a marriage of her personal and professional goals. According to Barrett, her desire and willingness to help others was not unique; instead, it is a shared value among African Americans who adopt a collectivist viewpoint of success. The diversity officer positions are complicated and cannot be looked at as only the result of tokenism and institutional racism; the role of personal goals and values must also be considered.

Throughout, the counterstories were blatant rejections of majority dominance and influence that seems synonymous with higher education. Overcoming their own encounters with institutional or structural racism to improve conditions for other black students was the central point of this study. Instead of viewing their positions as insignificant in the organizational structure of a predominantly white institution, these diversity officers do not lend credence to Hoskins (1978), Johnson (1974), and other scholars who question their utility. The goal of this study from its onset was to speak directly to diversity officers, to hear their counterstories and allow them an opportunity to share their experiences. Clearly, this was achieved. Despite reading various scholars' perceptions of blacks in diversity-focused positions, it was evident that more than tokenism was attracting administrators to their roles. Much like Barrett (2005) and the interviewee from my pilot study, who was solely responsible for institutional diversity, black administrators see their positions as diversity officers as one way to further a civil rights agenda and as one way to help other people of color reach their full potential at our nation's institutions of higher education. Included in these rich experiences were stories of triumph. Instead of seeing themselves as in positions with limited authority, these black administrators realize the power they receive from helping members of their communities, lifting as they climb.

This study provides the foundation for future exploration at the other Kentucky public and private institutions. Other avenues for exploration at Kentucky public postsecondary institutions would be discussions on the definition of diversity set forth by the Kentucky Council on Post Secondary Education that has traditionally pertained only to blacks and how that might impact diversity initiatives on individual campuses. As campuses strive to become more racially inclusive, it would be interesting to examine

how Kentucky's public universities understand and realize diversity based on both state and university policies. Another area for future exploration is a thorough history of the municipality where the college or university is located, in addition to the history of the office of minority affairs. A town/gown study would place the office of minority affairs in a historical context and provide a historical backdrop to events that were taking place on a broader scale. Additionally, in order to gain more insight into the experiences of black administrators responsible for diversity initiatives, a study including participants from both private and public colleges and universities across the country would shed more light on the issues of tokenism, pigeonholing, and racial uplift. The findings might indicate a need for colleges and universities to continue to have positions and offices responsible for diversity in an effort to maintain diverse campuses. Regardless of future direction, giving a voice to those who are absent from conversations on black administrators is essential. This should be a priority. Instead of researchers drawing conclusions based on assumptions, it is imperative that diversity officers are provided an opportunity to tell their stories without the opinions of others overshadowing the diversity officers' experiences.

Throughout this research, I was reminded that a goal of this study, different from other research efforts, was to speak directly with diversity officers and not just about them. The nine diversity officers participating in this study were committed to racial uplift, including those who are no longer in these positions. The desire to help elevate other blacks is similar to Barrett (2004) who believed her work as an Associate Vice Chancellor for Student Development and Diversity allowed her to further an agenda based on equity and inclusion. Whether the administrators worked at the University of Louisville, Western Kentucky University, or Morehead State University, the institutional racism, often manifested as pigeonholing that they confronted, in addition to the tensions among the group, their motivations for working in these positions were similar. Regardless if these positions and offices were created in response to student protests, as was the case with U of L, or a response to state legislation (the Kentucky Plan), as was true for WKU and MSU, the counterspace that is provided by diversity officers and their offices are important for supporting students and faculty of color. Also, notable is that the diversity officers refused to allow the tensions related to positionality or credentials

define their success in terms of uplifting others. Whether or not a diversity officer was in an executive-level position, the diversity officers included in this study were cognizant of their role in uplifting their community and were successful in endeavors.

The conversations in this study are not reserved for diversity officers at Kentucky's predominantly white colleges and universities. Instead, it is my contention that the tensions expressed by the diversity officers in this study are similar to their counterparts throughout our nation's campuses. Williams and Wade-Golden (2007) discussed the emergence of diversity officers in higher education and their changing responsibilities. What was excluded from their analyses was how these changes are perceived by earlier generations of diversity officers, including the tensions resulting from the addition of executive level positions. Despite the tensions or the reasons for the tensions, each of the nine participants included in this research shared a strong will and desire to participate in community uplift. Perhaps the tensions should be looked at as an accountability measure. For example, are the tensions expressed by the older generation of diversity officers an attempt to make sure progress of the Civil Rights Movement and the gains made in higher education are not threatened? Maybe these tensions are really expressions of fear. The perceived fear of having the voice of blacks on campuses muted, and the perceived absence of a primary advocate to stand on behalf of the black constituency, may have resulted in expressed tensions. Whether or not these tensions are expressions of fear, it is clear from the stories of the diversity officers that the opportunity to uplift members of their community is paramount in their careers.

Another possibility for the tensions among black diversity officers could be that the emphasis on specific groups has changed and these black diversity officers are expected to adopt a broader definition of diversity. With this broader definition of diversity, some of the diversity officers included in this study realized the need to think of diversity in a more inclusive way and one that moved beyond the historical definition used within the state of Kentucky. When the Office of Civil Rights first provided guidelines for higher education institutions to create desegregation plans, the emphasis was on black students. However, as the demographics of campuses change, questions related to how diversity should be defined are being raised. As discussed in chapter three, Miller, the Chief Diversity Officer at WKU, believed that one of his challenges in

his position would be to get members of his campus community to think about diversity beyond black and white. Including other groups within the definition of diversity was seen by one diversity officer in the study and a way to dilute efforts aimed at black within the higher education community. This diversity officer expressed that the move to make offices more inclusive was really a detriment to the black community and a way to keep them from being the sole benefactors of resources once designated to them. Regardless of the tensions that exist or the origins of these tensions, it is clear from this study that these individuals occupy an important space within the higher education community, most notable for their choice to uplift others as they climb.

Appendices

Appendix A: Study Participants

Vice President Howard Bailey, Vice President of Student Affairs at Western Kentucky University

Dr. Francene Botts-Butler, Director of the Office of Multicultural Student Services at Morehead State University

Dr. Ralph Fitzpatrick, Vice President for External Affairs at the University of Louisville

Mr. Jerry Gore, retired Director of Minority Affairs at Morehead State University

Mr. Edward Laster, Senior Academic Counselor at the University of Louisville

Dr. Richard C. Miller, Chief Diversity Officer at Western Kentucky University

Mr. Ricardo Nazario-Cólon, Director of the Office of Diversity Programs at Western Kentucky University

Dr. Mitchell Payne, Associate Vice President for Business Affairs at the University of Louisville

Dr. Clarendia Phillips, Department Chair, Sociology, SW, and Criminology at Morehead State University

Appendix B: Interview Guide

1. How did you come to be in this position?

My goal with this broad question is to allow the administrators to share information directly related to the position. I will prompt them to give specific information by asking them to elaborate on the recruitment and hiring process, including the training they received and by whom. Also information about their responsibilities and the changes that they have witnessed in higher education as both an administrator and a black administrator will be asked to gain insight into the discussion about the evolution of the position.

2. How is your position and office viewed among members of your institution?

This question is important in order to have the administrators share their perceptions of the position, a key viewpoint absent from previous studies on black administrators in diversity-focused positions. My goals with these questions are to have the administrators candidly share information about the position as it relates to race, including the perceptions of both black and white students, faculty, and administrators on campus. Another aspect of that discussion will be to have the administrators discuss any challenges they've faced from one constituency and their own perceptions of their perceptions. The questions place an emphasis on race but since I will have had the opportunity to speak to the administrators two times prior to this discussion, I feel that the rapport will already be established and the administrators will feel comfortable answering these questions.

3. Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

I am allowing the administrators to share additional information about their position that I might not have asked but they deem relevant to the story. The goal of this question is to learn what influences the administrators to work in these positions. The ideas of racial uplift, advocacy, and one's personal goals is what I am seeking to learn about from the administrators with this final question.

Appendix C: Consent Forms

IRB Number
08-0461-P4S

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Real Progress or Cosmetic Progress

(Face-to-face Interviews)

WHY ARE YOU BEING INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH?

You are being invited to take part in a research study about black administrators in diversity focused positions at predominantly white institutions. You are being invited to take part in this research study because you are currently employed in a position with a focus on diversity or you have held a position with those responsibilities in the past. If you volunteer to take part in this study, you will be one of about 15 people to do so at one of three public institutions in Kentucky.

WHO IS DOING THE STUDY?

The person in charge of this study is Erica N. Johnson (Principal Investigator, PI) a doctoral student at the University of Kentucky in the Department of Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation in Higher Education. She is being guided in this research by her faculty advisor, Jane Jensen, Ph.D. There may be other people on the research team assisting at different times during the study.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

By doing this study, we hope to learn about the early positions of minority affairs directors and the current positions of vice presidents of diversity.

ARE THERE REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

You should not participate in the research if you are not an African-American employed in an administrative position that focuses on diversity, either currently or in the past.

WHERE IS THE STUDY GOING TO TAKE PLACE AND HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?

The research procedures will be conducted at a location of your choice. There will be 2 to 3 contacts made for the study and each of those contacts will last about 90 minutes. The total amount of time you will be asked to volunteer for this study is up to approximately 6 hours over the next three months.

WHAT WILL YOU BE ASKED TO DO?

If you agree to participate, you will be interviewed face-to-face approximately 2 to 3 times about being a black administrator with a diversity focused position at a predominantly white institution. With your permission, the semi-structured interviews

Appendix C: Consent Forms (continued)

will be tape recorded and transcribed. It is anticipated that the majority of the interviews will occur between July and October of 2008 but there is a possibility that follow-up interviews may be necessary.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS?

To the best of our knowledge, the things you will be doing have no more risk of harm than you would experience in everyday life. Because some of the participants in the study are currently employed at institutions relevant to the research topic and might feel uncomfortable sharing their experiences if they feel that there is a possibility that the information will be made public, only pseudonyms will be used to protect the identities of all participants.

WILL YOU BENEFIT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

You will not get any personal benefit from taking part in this study; however, your willingness to take part, may, in the future, help society as a whole better understand this research topic.

DO YOU HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY?

If you decide to take part in the study, it should be because you really want to volunteer. You will not lose any benefits or rights you would normally have if you choose not to volunteer. You can choose to skip any interview question you do not feel comfortable answering. In addition, you can choose to stop participating in the study at any time and still keep the benefits and rights you had before volunteering.

IF YOU DON'T WANT TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY, ARE THERE OTHER CHOICES?

If you do not want to be in the study, there are no other choices except not to take part in the study.

WHAT WILL IT COST YOU TO PARTICIPATE?

There are no costs associated with taking part in the study.

WILL YOU RECEIVE ANY REWARDS FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

You will not receive any rewards or payment for taking part in the study.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION THAT YOU GIVE?

Your information will be combined with information from other people taking part in the study. When we write about the study to share it with other researchers, we will write about the combined information we have gathered. Unless you have given signed consent you will not be personally identified in these written materials. We may publish the results of this study; however, we will keep your name and all other identifying information private unless you have given signed consent. Although your identity may be private, due to the small sample of people and the geographical location, it may be possible for people who read the study to determine the actual participants.

Appendix C: Consent Forms (continued)

We will make every effort to prevent anyone who is not on the research team from knowing that you gave us information, or what that information is. We will keep private all research records that identify you to the extent allowed by law, unless you request that your identity and information that you provide for the research be shared in the written results. However, there are some circumstances in which we may have to show your information to other people even if you do not request that your information be shared. For example, the law may require us to show your information to a court or to tell authorities if you report information about a child being abused or if you pose a danger to yourself or someone else. Also, we may be required to show information which identifies you to people who need to be sure we have done the research correctly; these would be people from such organizations as the University of Kentucky.

The recordings made during your interview(s) will be downloaded to the principal investigator's personal computer until they are transcribed and the transcripts are reviewed for accuracy. Once the transcripts are reviewed and verified as accurate, all recordings will be erased from the computer. Only the principal investigator will have access to the recordings and she will be the individual responsible for erasing them.

CAN YOUR TAKING PART IN THE STUDY END EARLY?

If you decide to take part in the study you still have the right to decide at any time that you no longer want to continue. You will not be treated differently if you decide to stop taking part in the study.

WHAT IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS, SUGGESTIONS, CONCERNS, OR COMPLAINTS?

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the study, you can contact the investigator, Erica N. Johnson at 859-492-4134. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact the staff in the Office of Research Integrity at the University of Kentucky at 859-257-9428 or toll free at 1-866-400-9428. You will be given a signed copy of this consent form to keep.

Appendix C: Consent Forms (continued)

Signature of person agreeing to take part in the study

Date

Printed name of person agreeing to take part in the study

Name of [authorized] person obtaining informed consent

Date

Do you grant permission to have your interview(s) recorded? (Please select one)

☐ Yes, the interview may be recorded.

☐ No, I do not want the interview to be recorded. However, the interview may be conducted but only with the investigator taking written notes.

Do you want your identity to be released in the written results of the research?

☐ Yes, I want my identity to be released.

☐ No, I do not want my identity to be released. Please keep my information confidential.

Appendix D: Enrollment Trends

Undergraduate Enrollment by Race
Kentucky Public Institutions
Fall 1998 - Fall 2008

Undergraduate Enrollment		Fall 1998*	Fall 1999*	Fall 2000	Fall 2001	Fall 2002	Fall 2003	Fall 2004	Fall 2005	Fall 2006	Fall 2007	Fall 2008	
Four-Year Public	Eastern Kentucky University	Nonresident Alien	155	139	113	1	145	79	80	117	124	125	75
		Black	565	620	602	839	567	617	640	637	562	635	688
		American Indian or Alaskan Native	31	31	46	31	45	51	58	42	33	37	40
		Asian or Pacific Islander	61	60	58	117	78	148	146	118	120	124	146
		Hispanic	61	56	62	66	75	100	93	96	103	110	131
		White	12,601	12,368	12,026	11,562	11,612	12,336	12,645	12,760	12,538	12,449	12,569
		Unknown	-	-	2	607	531	236	175	172	143	179	190
		Total	13,480	13,274	12,909	13,023	13,053	13,567	13,837	13,942	13,623	13,659	13,839
	Kentucky State University	Nonresident Alien	67	19	14	9	6	5	3	1	-	77	65
		Black	1,226	1,352	1,274	1,388	1,333	1,336	1,264	1,350	1,500	1,499	1,494
		American Indian or Alaskan Native	2	3	6	2	1	3	3	1	3	3	1
		Asian or Pacific Islander	16	21	21	22	20	17	27	30	62	22	14
		Hispanic	10	23	16	27	35	18	14	9	13	7	11
		White	873	814	733	672	672	681	739	752	700	693	601
		Unknown	11	45	65	45	40	78	133	65	63	209	311
		Total	2,205	2,277	2,129	2,165	2,107	2,138	2,183	2,228	2,341	2,510	2,497
	Morehead State University	Nonresident Alien	58	64	70	62	60	53	46	32	23	32	27
		Black	282	280	248	289	285	286	270	264	261	260	244
		American Indian or Alaskan Native	25	24	25	26	29	21	19	28	29	25	29
		Asian or Pacific Islander	18	17	24	24	22	19	22	28	27	24	37
		Hispanic	31	26	30	32	50	52	56	48	54	65	59
		White	6,329	6,234	6,358	6,835	7,266	7,498	7,349	7,149	7,121	7,219	7,033
		Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58
		Total	6,743	6,645	6,755	7,268	7,712	7,929	7,762	7,549	7,515	7,625	7,487
	Murray State University	Nonresident Alien	195	221	368	251	260	203	186	180	182	150	179
		Black	431	421	447	463	460	508	472	494	504	486	502
		American Indian or Alaskan Native	24	20	21	32	39	45	47	38	34	32	26
		Asian or Pacific Islander	30	42	38	54	49	74	71	60	83	84	72

(Continued)

SOURCE: Kentucky Council on Postsecondary Education Comprehensive Database
*Technical School enrollment not available for Fall 1998/1999
April 30, 2009



Undergraduate Enrollment by Race
Kentucky Public Institutions
Fall 1998 - Fall 2008

Undergraduate Enrollment		Fall 1998*	Fall 1999*	Fall 2000	Fall 2001	Fall 2002	Fall 2003	Fall 2004	Fall 2005	Fall 2006	Fall 2007	Fall 2008	
Four-Year Public	Murray State University	Hispanic	45	48	42	52	49	63	63	61	80	79	80
		White	6,565	6,500	6,497	6,879	7,170	7,424	7,456	7,651	7,622	7,399	7,141
		Unknown	59	47	79	45	61	68	76	81	102	131	177
		Total	7,349	7,299	7,492	7,776	8,068	8,385	8,371	8,565	8,607	8,361	8,179
	Northern Kentucky University	Nonresident Alien	102	105	126	150	183	223	206	215	175	165	143
		Black	341	362	415	514	601	582	579	588	624	648	747
		American Indian or Alaskan Native	25	26	30	36	28	29	26	23	28	26	32
		Asian or Pacific Islander	71	82	100	97	119	116	117	113	117	133	135
		Hispanic	44	59	49	77	100	107	115	120	146	140	157
		White	10,060	10,038	10,139	10,414	11,133	11,166	11,027	10,699	11,029	11,053	11,275
		Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	349	549	560	541
		Total	10,643	10,672	10,859	11,286	12,164	12,223	12,070	12,107	12,668	12,725	13,030
	University of Kentucky	Nonresident Alien	526	414	362	329	278	212	183	169	185	185	212
		Black	974	945	1,004	962	925	980	1,042	951	1,052	1,064	1,234
		American Indian or Alaskan Native	37	37	26	26	20	22	27	26	21	45	39
		Asian or Pacific Islander	322	291	309	321	307	301	323	359	409	394	420
		Hispanic	119	132	132	151	156	178	182	189	212	198	243
		White	15,020	14,868	14,890	15,234	15,884	16,129	16,320	16,565	16,909	16,366	16,370
		Unknown	159	160	176	261	308	368	415	473	540	578	470
		Total	17,157	16,847	16,999	17,264	17,878	18,190	18,492	18,732	19,328	18,830	18,988
	University of Louisville	Nonresident Alien	268	279	324	258	196	242	276	327	344	383	357
		Black	1,843	1,885	1,902	1,882	1,991	1,979	1,988	1,980	1,898	1,823	1,912
		American Indian or Alaskan Native	46	48	49	39	35	27	37	39	46	47	45
		Asian or Pacific Islander	410	408	368	364	426	404	431	449	446	429	447
		Hispanic	178	172	184	172	190	181	198	250	259	272	293
		White	11,902	11,918	11,596	11,391	11,595	11,766	11,882	11,845	11,962	11,923	12,203
		Unknown	-	-	54	25	42	125	121	167	148	248	238
		Total	14,647	14,710	14,477	14,131	14,475	14,724	14,933	15,057	15,103	15,125	15,495

(Continued)

SOURCE: Kentucky Council on Postsecondary Education Comprehensive Database
*Technical School enrollment not available for Fall 1998/1999
April 30, 2009



Appendix D: Enrollment Trends (continued)

Undergraduate Enrollment by Race
Kentucky Public Institutions
Fall 1998 - Fall 2008

Undergraduate Enrollment			Fall 1998 ¹	Fall 1999 ¹	Fall 2000	Fall 2001	Fall 2002	Fall 2003	Fall 2004	Fall 2005	Fall 2006	Fall 2007	Fall 2008
Four-Year Public	Western Kentucky University	Nonresident Alien	53	62	71	104	100	191	217	254	398	248	273
		Black	909	997	1,022	1,161	1,277	1,285	1,388	1,448	1,467	1,587	1,718
		American Indian or Alaskan Native	45	36	34	36	47	48	51	52	45	57	51
		Asian or Pacific Islander	139	124	160	160	144	159	159	137	116	169	182
		Hispanic	79	79	84	106	132	148	147	156	179	211	254
		White	11,488	11,823	11,835	12,472	13,409	13,826	13,708	13,778	13,534	13,902	14,206
		Unknown	-	-	56	96	125	141	176	153	328	334	282
		Total	12,713	12,921	13,272	14,135	15,234	15,798	15,846	15,978	16,067	16,506	16,966
	Total	Nonresident Alien	1,427	1,303	1,448	1,164	1,228	1,208	1,197	1,295	1,431	1,365	1,331
		Black	6,574	6,862	6,914	7,298	7,439	7,573	7,643	7,712	7,868	8,002	8,539
		American Indian or Alaskan Native	235	225	237	228	244	246	268	249	239	272	265
		Asian or Pacific Islander	1,067	1,045	1,078	1,159	1,165	1,238	1,296	1,314	1,380	1,379	1,453
		Hispanic	567	595	609	683	787	847	868	929	1,046	1,082	1,228
		White	74,838	74,363	74,074	75,459	78,741	80,826	81,126	81,199	81,415	81,004	81,398
Two-Year Public	KCTCS	Unknown	229	252	432	1,079	1,107	1,016	1,096	1,480	1,873	2,239	2,267
		Total	84,937	84,645	84,792	87,070	90,711	92,954	93,494	94,178	95,252	95,343	96,481
	Total	Nonresident Alien	72	97	78	73	162	93	105	96	125	168	144
		Black	3,436	3,553	5,135	5,674	5,758	5,735	5,866	6,268	6,693	7,373	7,244
		American Indian or Alaskan Native	404	375	305	280	243	248	207	231	262	273	286
		Asian or Pacific Islander	428	416	553	546	510	551	542	629	685	722	786
		Hispanic	477	463	607	645	682	753	906	929	1,017	1,168	1,295
		White	36,013	36,826	49,305	59,498	60,848	62,133	63,120	66,171	68,153	73,035	73,147
	Total	Unknown	481	618	3,434	4,217	7,879	11,184	11,244	10,607	9,540	10,089	7,040
		Total	41,311	42,348	59,415	70,913	76,082	80,695	81,990	84,931	86,475	92,828	89,942

(Continued)

SOURCE: Kentucky Council on Postsecondary Education Comprehensive Database
¹ Technical School enrollment not available for Fall 1998/1999
April 30, 2009

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Vita

Erica NićCole Johnson

Date and Place of Birth

September 2, 1978
Maysville, Kentucky

Education

2003	M.A.E. in Student Affairs, Western Kentucky University
2000	B.A., in Psychology, Transylvania University

Professional Experience

2008-2009	Research Assistantship, National Science Foundation grant, Department of Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky
2008-2004	Lyman T. Johnson Fellowship/Research Assistant, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky
1996-2000	Student Worker, Transylvania University Admissions Office, Lexington, Kentucky

Awards, Special Honors/Recognition

Fall 2009, Fall 2008	ACPA Conference Submission Reviewer
Summer 2007	David Schar Writing Dissertation Fellowship, Ashland University, Ashland, Ohio
Fall 2006-2007	Frank G. and Elizabeth D. Dickey Graduate Fellowship College of Education, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky
Spring 2006	March for Remembrance and Hope, Poland
Fall 2005	Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation Graduate Student Delegate, St. Louis, Missouri